

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

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Art. I. *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H. G. O. Dwight in Armenia: including a Journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia, with a Visit to the Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas. In Two Volumes. By Eli Smith, Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 12mo. pp. xvi. 676. Boston, U. S. 1833.*

WE were not aware, in inviting the attention of our readers to the ancient history of Armenia, that we should so soon have it in our power to lay before them a faithful and accurate account of the present state of the country, supplied by the personal researches of two learned Missionaries; and we cannot help regarding it as a remarkable coincidence, that the history, literature, and moral condition of this long oppressed and neglected Christian nation, should be occupying the attention of Oriental scholars, learned natives, and Missionary Boards, at one and the same time, in London, Calcutta, and Boston.

Hitherto, the attention of the British public has been too little directed to Armenia, to create a desire for further information respecting it. English travellers have come into contact with Armenian merchants and monks in different parts of the Levant, more especially at Constantinople and Jerusalem. Armenians are numerous also in India, as well as in Persia, being scattered all over the East. But the country itself has seemed to be so completely swallowed up between Turkey and Persia on either hand, that it has well nigh disappeared from geography, and few are the modern travellers who have crossed its once fertile and populous, but now bare and silent plains. Tournefort, Macdonald Kinneir, Ker Porter, and Schultz, are, we believe, the only recent contributors to our information respecting the interior of the country. The high route from Constantinople to Tabriz, *via* Tokat, Erzeroom, and Erivan, which leads through the heart

of both Armenias, is well known to mercantile and other overland travellers. Little, however, can be gathered respecting a region, and the state of its population, from a hurried journey under escort of a Tatar courier; accordingly, the greater part of Armenia is still, as remarked in the preface to these volumes, '*terra incognita* to the topographer.'

The map which accompanies these volumes, though confessedly only an approximation to an accurate delineation of the country, will be found a valuable acquisition. A recent Russian map of the countries lying between the Euxine and Caspian seas, has been followed in the northern part; Morier's map has been consulted for Adjerbijan; Kinneir's for Kourdistan and some other unfrequented parts; Niebuhr has been relied upon for some localities in Mesopotamia; and an Armenian map in Mukhitar's Armenian Dictionary, has been frequently referred to.

It will be proper to explain the circumstances under which the journey narrated in these pages was undertaken. A large extent of territory bordering on the Mediterranean had been previously surveyed by missionaries sent out by the American Board. In the year 1820, Messrs. Fisk and Parsons had made the tour of that part of Asia Minor which includes the Seven Churches. Messrs. Fisk and King, in 1823, ascended the Nile to Thebes; and the same Missionaries, with their fellow labourers, explored the whole of Palestine and the greater part of Syria, between 1821 and 1827. In 1827, Mr. Grindley travelled from Smyrna into Cappadocia; and in that year and the following two, Messrs. Brewer, King, Smith, and Anderson visited the Morea and the principal islands of the Ionian and Egean seas. Tripoli and Tunis were visited by Mr. Bird in 1829. These investigations, together with those of missionaries employed by British Societies, had laid open the religious condition of the Greek, Coptic, and Maronite churches, to the observation of their 'brethren in the Western world.' It still remained, however, to carry these researches into the countries further east, once the seat of Christian light and civilization, in which the remnants of various ancient ecclesiastical communities still exist, of whose state too little was known to render it practicable to determine definitely what could be attempted for their spiritual relief and improvement.

'Such, among others, were the Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, and Chaldeans. To ascertain what it was practicable for the churches of America to do for these sects, and also for the Turks, Turkmans, Kurds, and Persians, among whom they reside, the Prudential Committee of the Board resolved to send two Missionaries into Armenia on a tour of investigation. The Rev. Eli Smith was selected for one, on account of his experience as a traveller, and his acquaintance with the Arabic language, with which he had made himself familiar in Syria, and also with Turkish, which a little practice would enable him to



employ in conversation. The Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, although but just come into the Mediterranean, was associated with him, in full confidence that he would render important aid in the service.'

The result has been, the collection of a mass of interesting and valuable facts, the relation of which, in the independent journals of the two Travellers, deposited at the rooms of the Board, occupies more than a thousand pages of manuscript. From the two reports, this work has, by order of the Committee, been prepared and published; and we cordially subscribe to the commendation passed upon it by the Secretaries to the Board of Missions in the Advertisement prefixed.

'We regard the statements contained in these volumes as possessing an accuracy and value far beyond what is common in books of travels; and as being worthy of the attentive perusal of the geographer and historian, as well as of missionaries and directors of missionary societies; and indeed, of all who are interested in the publication of the Gospel in the East, and in the intellectual and moral improvement of man.'

As an Introduction to the narrative, Mr. Smith has drawn up a brief historical sketch of Armenia, the materials of which are principally derived from the work of Father Michael Chamich (or Chamcheán, as we find his name more usually written); the English translation of which by Mr. Avdall, we have so recently reviewed. He acknowledges also his high obligations to the very learned "*Memoires Historiques et Geographiques sur l'Armenie*," of M. J. Saint Martin. This work was, he says, 'our travelling companion and guide, and, though compiled principally from Armenian authors, without the aid of personal observation, it constantly surprised us by its extreme accuracy.' Mr. Smith briefly recites the absurd traditions respecting Haig and his successors, and the early Armenian dynasties, of which we have given our readers a more than sufficient specimen; but, while evidently suspicious of their authenticity, he has not attempted to submit them to critical analysis. In reference to the legend respecting King Abgar, it is simply remarked, in a note, that Asseman contends, that he was not king of Armenia, and never governed any part of that country; that Tacitus styles Abgar (or Acbarus) king of the Arabs; and that, in speaking of Armenia during this period, the Roman historian has evidently in mind only the country whose capital was Artaxata, now Erivan. Surely this affords sufficient ground for discarding the poetical episode from Armenian history. It is not a little singular, that, even as to the supposed reviver of Christianity in Armenia, in the fourth century, Gregory *Loosavorich* (the Illuminator), the ancient Greek ecclesiastical historians, from Eu-

sebius to Evagrius, maintain a total silence. 'Sozomen reports 'a tradition that Tiridates, king of Armenia, was converted by 'a vision, became a very zealous Christian, and ordered all his 'subjects to believe in Christ. But he says nothing of Gregory. 'Even the Armenián Moses Chorenensis gives but a very brief 'account of him.' (p. 24.) If, then, such a person ever existed, there is strong reason for scepticism as to the whole legend respecting his acts and deeds, among which we find it recorded, that he 'baptized the king and the *whole nation* '!

Armenian history properly begins with Armenian literature. Whether we are right or not in conjecturing that the primitive civilization of *Assyrian* Armenia was Zendish, the Christian civilization of *Parthian* Armenia was certainly Greek, and the Armenian language appears to have been first written in the Greek character. When this character became *proscribed* by the Persians, Mesrob invented the Armenian alphabet,—as much, possibly, with a view to concealment, as for any other object. The Armenian version of the Bible, the oldest Armenian book extant, was translated from the Septuagint. The Armenian Church appears to have been originally considered as a branch of the Syrian; and two native Syrians had successively been raised to its patriarchal chair, previously to the great schism which originated from the council of Chalcedon. The Armenian bishops had unanimously assented to the decrees of the councils of Nice and Ephesus; but, under the influence, it is supposed, of the learned Syrian monk, Barsumas, (or Bardsumay,) they formally rejected, in the synod held at Vagharshabad, A.D. 491, the Chalcedonian decrees, 'at the same-time most inconsistently anathematizing Eutyches.' On this ground, the charge of heresy is brought against the Armenian Church by both the Latins and the Greeks. The Georgian Church was represented by its *katholikos* and a number of bishops in the Armenian synod; but, within a century after, (A.D. 580,) in spite of the remonstrances of the head of the Armenian Church, the rejected decrees of Chalcedon were adopted by the Georgians, who have ever since formed a part of the Orthodox Greek Church.

The chief bond of ecclesiastical union, however, or, rather, the mark of ecclesiastical subjection, would seem to have consisted less in uniformity of creed than of language. The use of the Latin Ritual, next to an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the Romish bishop, forms the point of honour and token of conformity most peremptorily insisted upon throughout the pale of the Papal Church. The use of the Greek language is a not less essential mark of Greek orthodoxy; while the anti-Byzantine churches of the East have each their heretical language. We cannot, therefore, help regarding the Armenian heresy as manifested more in the rejection of the Greek as a sacred language,

than in the non-reception of the decrees of Chalcedon. All the great ecclesiastical schisms have been, at the bottom, *national* quarrels; and the bond of nationality is language. Their mother tongue is the last thing which either a conquered nation or a persecuted church can be compelled to abandon. We have seen this exemplified in the religious fondness which the Irish cherish for their own tongue, which, although not that of their Church, is identified with it, through sharing in the persecution carried on against both by the 'Saxons.' It is not less strikingly displayed in the tenacity with which the Coptic, Syrian, and Slavonic churches adhere to the dead language embalmed in their church ritual. It is the only tie which connects them with their ancestry. The Eastern Churches are but the monuments of ancient nations; sepulchral monuments, in which the dead commemorate the dead, their unintelligent worship being but a funeral service, a perpetual elegy.

No wonder, then, that it should notoriously form 'part of the policy of papal missionaries, to *denationalize* their converts, by substituting attachment to Rome and her children for patriotic partialities.' And this is effected very greatly by means of the language of the Romish ritual, which has served to perpetuate a despotism over the mind itself, and of the Frankish dialects of commerce. With the papal Greeks of the Archipelago, this process of denationalizing 'has been carried so far, that many who are of genuine Greek descent, consider it an insult to be called Greeks.

'The papal Armenians own the name of Armenian still, but they like the Franks better than their countrymen. Even in the interior of Turkey, 900 miles from Constantinople, a papal Armenian priest and his family, with whom Providence cast our lot for a night, announced themselves to us as brother Franks, (supposing us to be of course Papists,) and treated us with more kindness than we experienced from any other natives the whole journey; at the same time that they exhibited a bitter enmity towards their Armenian neighbours\*. They naturally seek to learn the languages of their friends, and in fact, have for this purpose a flourishing school in Pera. A key to European intelligence is thus acquired, and they of course become more enlightened than their countrymen.' Vol. I. pp. 68.

The practical conclusion to be drawn from these facts, is, that, while to proscribe a language is the direct way to enlist in its favour all the energies of national attachment, the only avenue to the minds and hearts of a people is through their own mother tongue.

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\* May we not adduce as a parallel to this, the bitter enmity exhibited towards their Irish countrymen by those natives of Ireland who have become *denationalized*?



With equal wonder and delight the natives of civilized and of barbarous lands hear proclaimed in their "own tongue wherein they were born", the wonderful works of God, or spell out the words of life in their own sacred character. Language is made up of moral associations; and it is with these, not with naked sounds, that we must find the means of connecting the truths we seek to impart. On the other hand, a re-action always takes place in the minds of a people, in favour of both the language and the persons of those teachers who have gained their confidence by this concession to their intellectual requirements and prejudices; and while we have more instances in history, of conquerors adopting the language of their vassals, than of their succeeding in naturalizing their own, the instructed seldom fail ultimately to adopt, to a greater or less extent, the dialect and literature of their instructors. It is by this re-action that the English language is spreading, and will continue to spread, all over the world. It might almost serve as the motto of missionary enterprise, *Translate and Conquer*.

Our introductory remarks have imperceptibly extended to a greater length than we had designed. We shall now proceed to lay before our readers an abstract of the very interesting narrative comprised in these Researches.

On the morning of the 21st of May, 1830, the two travellers took leave of Constantinople, and 'set their faces towards Armenia'. The north winds having set in for the summer season, it was deemed prudent not to risk the passage to Trebisonde, and the tardy movements of a caravan were declined for the more expeditious mode of travelling post under the escort of a Tatar guide. But they were outwitted by the wily Mussulman. He had contrived to engage himself in the same capacity to three Armenians and two Turkish merchants, who successively joined the party at different stations on the route; so that, with the addition of a second Tatar 'as an accidental companion', the party, by the time they reached Karajalar, consisted of nineteen horses, more than most post-houses could be expected to contain. They appear nevertheless to have lost little time, for on the 1st of June they entered Tokat. The rapidity with which they were hurried on, rendered the journey in fact extremely fatiguing. For instance:—

'Every stage, often thirty miles or more, is travelled without allowing our horses a drop of water, and our gait is frequently a rapid gallop; in enduring which the loaded animals especially exhibit a strength and hardiness that quite astonish us . . . . Beyond Karajalar, the same table-land continued, and our party moved over it, often nineteen abreast, upon an almost unbroken gallop for three hours to Kharajulen, where we stopped at 7 P.M. Had you seen us, loaded horses and all, bounding over the plain as if for a wager, the

scene would have amused you : unless perchance pity for the poor animals had produced an opposite impression. We should ourselves have dealt more mercifully with the poor beasts, and in fact with their riders, had we been our own masters. But, with a level road and good horses, the irresistible tendency of a Tartar is onward ; and our Mohammed Aga had no moderate share of the propensity of his profession. Having as usual anticipated us a little, he awaited our arrival at the post-house, and as we drove up in good spirits after a ride of at least 60 miles since the morning, exclaimed to his friends, *el hamd lillah alushdalar*, (thank God they have got used to it,) highly gratified by such a proof that we were now able to push on as fast as he wished.' Vol. I. pp. 84, 5.

In the seventh day's journey, five hours and three quarters beyond Tosia, the travellers came to the junction of the Derin-goz (a small and rapid stream which flows by that town) with the Halys, 'at a point where that river, after coming down from the east, suddenly turns northward.' We notice this statement, on account of the remark which accompanies it, in a note ; that 'Kinneir has mistaken these rivers, one for the other.' The Halys is now called, from the colour of its muddy water, *Kuxul-ermák* (red river). It takes its ancient name from flowing over a saline soil, or from the salt mines found near its borders. At Amasia, the ancient capital of Pontus, the route crosses the Iris, (now called the *Yeshil-ermák*,) which there flows through a deep ravine. The city is situated on both banks of the river, in the narrowest part of the defile, which it completely fills, lofty precipices overhanging it on either side, and an excellent bridge connects the two quarters. Tokat (*Eudocia*), 20 hours from Amasia, is situated on the south side of the same river, in the higher part of its valley. This is one of the most considerable places in Asiatic Turkey, containing, according to the information received from a respectable Armenian merchant, 4000 Turkish houses, 1350 Armenian, 500 or 600 Greek, and 70 Jewish : which would give a population of between 30 and 40,000 souls. Mr. Smith was disappointed, however, in its appearance and size. It is unwalled ; all the houses, even to that of the governor, are of unburned brick ; and, 'if the streets are paved, as has often been mentioned in its praise, it is no more than can be said of most towns of any magnitude in Turkey.' Still, some of its edifices are of good size, and parts of it are 'tolerably neat for a Turkish city.' Apart from its commercial importance, this place derives an interest from containing the tomb of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who died there on his homeward route in 1812.

'His remains lie buried in the extensive cemetery of the Armenian church of Karasoon Manoog, and are covered by a monument erected by Claudius James Rich, Esq., late English Resident at Bagdad. An



appropriate Latin inscription is all that distinguishes his tomb from the tombs of the Armenians who sleep by his side.'

Mr. Smith considers Tokat as the best spot for a missionary station in Armenia Minor.

' Besides its own Armenian population, which is not small, it has a convenient situation in reference to several other places that contain many of the same people. On the west are Marsovan and Amasia; on the north-east, Niksar; and on the south-east, Sivas; embracing, together with Tokat itself, not far from 24,000 Armenians, within a circle extending in the furthest direction not more than 80 miles from this centre, without reckoning any that might be scattered in villages. Whether there are many thus located, we did not ascertain by inquiry; but we should expect to find them, in this their adopted country, not merely in the migratory and alien character of merchants and mechanics in cities, but in that of peasants cultivating the soil, as if it was their nation's home. In a word, Tokát is the spot to be chosen as a centre of operation for the Armenians of the Second Armenia, as Cesarea is, probably, for those of the First and Third Armenia, and Tarsus for those of Cilicia.' Vol. I. p. 101.

Tokat has been mistaken for the site of the ancient *Comana Pontica*. That city appears to have stood about two hours higher up the river, where some ruins occupy both banks, which are known under the name of Old Tokat. Mr. Smith visited the spot in his route to Niksar, and we must transcribe his description of this beautiful region; premising, that he is rather sceptical as to the accuracy of the local tradition which makes *this* Comana the place where Chrysostom expired on his road to Pityus, in Colchis. He sees 'no reason why Comana in Cappadocia may 'not have been the place of his death.' The ruins at Old Tokat are all coarse and modern, except a few foundations.

' These,' continues Mr. Smith, 'bear marks of genuine antiquity, and I am inclined to believe the Armenian tradition which makes this the site of Comana. But the shrine of Bellona no longer creates here the luxury and profligacy of Corinth, nor do the remains, or even the tomb of Chrysostom, now attract hither the sympathies of christians for that persecuted man. Not a human being inhabits the spot, and a few uninteresting stones only distinguish it. Crossing the river here, we rode a few miles up its valley, which is fertile and considerably cultivated. Then turning to the left over a gentle eminence, we descended by the side of a noisy torrent, through a ravine thickly shaded with the oak, the beech, the plane, the maple, the box, the hazel, wild grape vines and roses, into the valley of Niksar. Though somewhat marshy, it is even more fertile and beautiful than the one we had left. We crossed it nearly at right angles, and passing the river of Niksar, (the ancient Lycus,) by a most bungling ferry-boat, we stopped at the town for the night, though but 9 hours from Tokat.



‘Niksar is but a corruption of Neocesarea, the town in Pontus which is known as the birth-place of Gregory Thaumaturgus. It occupies a gentle eminence at the foot of a range of mountains which forms the northern boundary of the plain. A citadel with a strong wall and gates still standing, contains the bazars and business, and forms the nucleus of the town; the deserted ruins of another fortress on a height above, throw around it an air of antiquity; and forests of fig, pomegranate, pear, cherry, walnut, and other fruit-trees, concealing the houses of the main body of its inhabitants along the sloping declivity below, give to it rural charms of the very first order. High on the north hangs the mountain clothed with the foliage of an almost impenetrable forest; and spread out on the south lies the plain, carpeted with the verdure of the smoothest meadow. A copious shower just after we stopped, gave the highest finish of freshness and life to the whole. In a word, the scenery of Niksar, united with that of many other places in Pontus of a similar cast, has stamped upon my mind an impression of that country, that would need very little aid from monastic propensities, to induce me to take up my residence with the shade of St. Basil in its beautiful forests. The town contains 600 Turkish, 120 Armenian, and 20 Greek houses; and in a distinct suburb, are 40 Greek houses more.

‘June 4. Our road from Niksar led us directly to the top of the highest peak of the mountain that rises behind it. The fatigue of the ascent was forgotten in the charms which surrounded us. At first, small ravines, wooded with walnuts, wild cherries, and other trees, formed channels for murmuring rivulets that descended to water the town. Nearer the top, a forest of lofty beeches shaded a ground beautifully studded with a great variety of delicate flowers. The top itself rose bare above all trees and shrubbery, and the very greenness of the sward which covered it, except where a drift of unmelted snow still lingered here and there, seemed only to give a finish to its baldness. From this elevated position, which it took us four hours to reach, we could look across the whole region of the Iris and its tributaries, to the snow-capped mountains that bound it on the south. Sitting down by a spring to eat a morsel of bread, we basked with pleasure in the rays of the sun, now raising the thermometer to only 56°, though they had so recently scorched us in the valleys below with a temperature of 100°.

‘Descending through a grove of pines, which in the inverted position of their limbs seemed to bear marks of the weight of wintry sleet and snows, we came soon into an open and beautiful grazing country. Level meadows and swelling hills, covered with the finest sward, interspersed with here and there a woodland, and intersected with rivulets of the purest water, seemed to give reality to the poetical charms of pastoral life. As we approached the log village in which was our post-house, a grotesque groupe, with pipe and tambour, headed by one in the costume of a zany, came forth to meet us; and imagination instantly seized them to complete the deception, by adding to the scene, Pan and the Satyrs in actual life, engaged in their favourite amusement. Poetry soon became prose, however, when, on entering

the village, we found that the head-man, being about to take to himself a wife, was keeping a feast of fifteen days, and these his musicians, hoping to add our present to his pay, had stopped a moment from celebrating his joys, to welcome our arrival.

'The village is named Kötaly; it is 8 hours from Niksar. Its houses, which were few, were in the style of the best log architecture of the United States, except that they were covered with a flat terrace, which extended like a portico several feet in every direction from the body of the building. In one of these, we were furnished with better accommodations than we had had since leaving Constantinople. Our room was well floored and neatly ceiled throughout. A good fireplace, with jambs and hearth of hewn stone and an andiron, (unfortunately there was but one,) a rare article of furniture in Turkey, was supplied with a cheerful fire. Our modest and civil host soon furnished us with a frugal supper, and for the consideration of twenty-three cents provided a roasted lamb for to-morrow.—There are no Armenians in this vicinity, but a village not far distant has 30 Greek houses.

'June 5. Apple and pear trees in blossom gave to our morning's ride the charms of early spring; and an occasional glimpse of the snowy summits of the Janik mountains on our left, shewed that winter still reigned not far from us. Leaving the open grazing country after three or four hours, and crossing a succession of exquisitely beautiful lawns enclosed in a grove of pines, we were conducted at length up the long and narrow dell of Baghursak-deresy, among juniper and barberry bushes, into a continuous and dense forest. The prospect that burst upon us, as we unexpectedly issued from it in the afternoon, arrested us immoveably by its indescribable grandeur. We were on the edge of the elevated plateau to which we had ascended yesterday. So far below as to be but indistinctly seen, the river of Niksar wound its course through a ravine whose sides were lofty mountains. We stood on the top of one of them. Opposite to us, mountain rose above mountain with all the roughness of crag and precipice, till the summits of the furthest were whitened with wintry snows. Our stage was to end at the very bottom of the abyss. We worked our way without danger, though not without fatigue, down to the brink of a perpendicular precipice about 100 feet directly over the town in which we were to stop. Here some caution was required to avoid the serious accident of being landed in our post-house sooner than we wished; but at last, after a descent of two hours and a half in all, we safely reached the bottom.' Vol I. pp. 103—107.

On leaving this place (*Koylisar*, or *Gokly-hissar*) the next day, the route for seven hours ascended the course of the river up the profound ravine above described. This 'frightful pass' led out to a high champaign country covered with green-sward, and surrounded with the snowy summits of the *Janik-dagh*. The mountains known under this appellation, are connected with a branch of Caucasus, which first separates Mingrelia from Georgia,



and, under the name \* of *Childir-dagh*, traverses the pashaliks of Akhaltsikhe (or Akhiskhah) and Kars; then, passing between Erzeroom and the south-eastern corner of the Black Sea, it receives the name of *Giaoor-dagh*, and finally, as it approaches its western termination in the plain of the Iris, that of *Janik-dagh*. After running for several hours over the table-land, the route descends into a warm valley watered by a small tributary of the Niksar river; from which a long ascent conducts the traveller to the elevated plains of Sheheran, the border district of Erzeroom. In Mr. Smith's map, however, we find it included in the territory of Gumesh-khaneh, a town between Sheheran and Trebisonde.

'Sheheran is the last place mentioned in the journal of Martyn. How wearisome and painful must have been his journey of 170 miles over the mountains and valleys that intervene between here and Tokat, where his earthly toils ceased!'

The *derbend* (guard-house) of Fundukli-bel, a few hours to the west of Sheheran, was the limit of the advance of the Russians towards the west, in their last invasion of Armenia. From this vicinity, they are said to have penetrated through the mountains to the boundaries of the pashalik of Trebisonde, within 18 miles of the sea. The Ottoman post establishment was completely broken up by the Russian invasion, so that, beyond Sheheran, the Tatar escort became of no advantage, and the Travellers found their *menzil-emry* (order for horses) of no use.

A gradual descent from the high, undulating ground of Sheheran led them into a broad and open plain, watered by a stream of some size, which, they were informed, flows by Niksar; and Mr. Smith concludes it to be the main branch (or rather head stream) of the river that bears that name, the ancient Lycus. The route, after leaving the plain of Chiftlik, lies for about three hours along its bank, till it enters a steep, wooded ravine, leaving the river descending from a snowy mountain on the south, called the *Chiman-dagh* (verdant mountain). All the way from Niksar, this same range had occasionally appeared, just south of the river, which takes its rise in its extreme and most elevated part, 'confirming what Strabo says of the Lycus, that it rises in Armenia.' The steep defile led to the naked summit of a narrow ridge which appears to separate the basin of the *Iris* (into which the Lycus pours its waters) from that of the *Akampsis*, now called the *Jorokh*; for, on descending into the plain on the eastern side, the Travellers crossed a considerable stream running northward, which, flowing by Baiboort, empties itself into the

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\* 'Called by the Greeks, *Moschici*, giving to the region the name of *Meschia*.' *Childir*, Mr. Smith supposes to be related to the *Chaldæi*, who once occupied those parts.



Black Sea, and is 'without doubt, the main branch of the Jorókh.' Here, then, says Mr. Smith, 'we may consider ourselves within the boundaries of Armenia Proper.'

'The scenery around us is thoroughly Armenian; a mixture of fertility and bleakness; plains and hills clothed alike with the greenest sward, but not a tree or a shrub to adorn them. A green ridge called *Otlúk-bely*, with now and then a snow-drift by the side of our path, succeeded. Here, directly in the road and by the side of it, were several mineral springs issuing large quantities of gas, and depositing much yellow stony matter. One of them, in the valley of a little tributary of the Euphrates that rises here, had apparently raised a mound by its deposits nearly 25 feet in height. The water of all was without scent, and tasted much like the celebrated waters of Saratoga. . . At the first village in Armenia (*Kara-koolák*), it was very appropriate to be first introduced to almost the only accommodations the traveller finds in that country. We slept in a stable. . . We had left to-day the waters of the Iris, crossed those of the Jorókh, and come upon those of the Euphrates, for a small stream runs by this place on its way to the latter river.' Vol. I. p. 114.

In the next stage, they crossed another naked ridge, affording from the summit, 'a bleak and wintry prospect down upon an 'extensive mass of dark, snowy mountains to the south-east,' on the further side of the Euphrates. The descent led down to a pass of evil name, *Sheitan deresy* (Satan's dell).

'Its appearance and reputation are almost equal to its name. At the crossing point, three profound ravines converge and unite in one. Their sudden windings and high banks of shelving, craggy rocks would conceal an army in ambush till you were in its midst. And the difficulty of the path, which winds over rocks and loose stones up an almost perpendicular ascent on either side, would cut off the possibility of escape. It is the third of the four dangerous passes of which our tartar had warned us; and, as proof that his fears were not groundless, he pointed to his thumbless hand, which had been maimed here, fighting with robbers. We shall not be charged with unusual weakness of nerves, if we confess that we stopped but a moment to collect some curious minerals that lay in the path, and took but a hasty draught of the limpid stream that runs through its bottom. We immediately came upon the northern branch of the Euphrates, and, after riding two or three hours along its northern bank, stopped in a small meadow to bait our fatigued horses in the grass. This river was considered the proper Euphrates by the Greek and Roman writers; but the Armenians give that honour to the *Murád-chai*. It is here enclosed by uninteresting mountains, with only a few stunted cedars to cover their barren rocks. Not an inhabited house appears near it for more than thirty miles; and occasional tombs of travellers, one or two of whom were tartars, that have been murdered by robbers, excite other emotions than one would wish to indulge when first coming upon so celebrated a river. While we were lounging under the trees of our

meadow, a thunder-storm passed over us, and, by its tremendous peals echoing from mountain to mountain, added a terrible majesty to the already gloomy scene.' pp. 115, 116.

Horses were no longer to be procured, and those which had brought the Travellers the last few stages, were knocked up. The only expedient was, to hire some carts of primitive rudeness, drawn by oxen. In this style, on the next day but one, the party entered the plain of Erzerroom, and reached a village two hours from the city. 'Ashamed to enter Erzerroom in carts,' they procured a few horses the next morning, and found the Armenian capital the head-quarters of the Russian army! The distance from Constantinople which the Travellers had thus accomplished in safety, is 262 hours, or about 786 miles.

Before we proceed with the narrative, we shall anticipate the information subsequently furnished respecting the other head stream of the Euphrates above referred to. In returning to Erzerroom from Tabriz, between Keleeseh, the last village in Persarmenia, and Bayazeed, the Travellers crossed a high and dreary mountain, covered almost entirely (in April) with deep snow, and which they suppose to be the *Niphates* of the Greeks, separating Persia from Turkey. From this mountain, they descended to the head of a plain extending towards the west, and crossed a small stream running in that direction, which Mr. Smith concluded to be one of the first branches of the *Murad-chai*. Turning northward, they came in full view of 'the back of Mount 'Ararat,' which presented much the same aspect as when viewed from the valley of the Aras. Continuing their journey northward over a few barren hills, they came in sight of Bayazeed, the capital of a pashalik, hanging romantically upon the side of a rugged precipice, which rises to some height above it, and is crowned with the citadel. The town, inhabited by about 190 Armenian families and between 300 and 400 Moslem, chiefly Kourds, was found in a miserable, ruined, and filthy state. On leaving Bayazeed, they turned westward into a broad plain, and in about an hour crossed a small stream running northward, which, they were informed, 'passes round the Magoo side of 'Mount Ararat, and falls into the Aras between that mountain 'and Nakchevan.' Towards the end of a most dreary stage, they crossed a small mountain covered with snow of some depth, and descended to Diadeen, a walled town, situated 'on the 'northern bank of the eastern branch of the Euphrates, now 'called *Murád-chai*, or the river of Murad.' The next day, they followed the uncultivated and deserted valley of the river westward to Uch-keleeseh, an Armenian convent; a distance of three hours. The convent stands on the south side of the river; and a few rods before reaching it, though the stream was swollen by the rain, a bridge of only three or four logs covered with weeds



and earth, conducted the Travellers over it without difficulty. Two miles lower, the road re-crosses the river by a stone bridge, and lies along its northern bank for several hours, through a tract of uneven woodless pasture, bounded by mountains, to where the Kor-chai, a mountain stream, falls into the Murad. At a miserable hamlet called Kara-keleeseh, a mile or two further, the Murad-chai turns to the left, towards Melazgerd, and finds its way through a mass of mountains, then covered with snow. The route, inclining more to the right, crosses in immediate succession some half-dozen tributary streams, at this season swelled by the melted snows. Beyond them, a somewhat more elevated, though level tract succeeds, extending to the mountains, which now bend southward, and cross the line of march. It is part of a continuous range, which sweeping round from Mount Ararat 'in a circuitous course,' towards the junction of the two head streams of the Euphrates, separates the valley of the Aras from that of the Murad-chai. The plain itself was covered with snow from one to two feet in depth, and in a melting state; and the passage of the mountain, the following day, was attended with considerable difficulty and peril. During one or two months in the year, the snow, they were assured, entirely disappears, and it is then passable with carts; but it must at all times be an arduous journey. From the multitude of abrupt ravines and ridges of which it is composed, it has received the name of *Gedük-dagh* (fissure-mountain). Dahar, a Kourdish village in the heart of the mountains, is the last in the pashalik of Bayazeed, and in the proper country of the Kourds, of which this range is the western bound and barrier. To the east of it, the Mussulman population is as universally and distinctly of the Kourdish race, as that of Asia Minor is of the Tûrkish. From Dahar, the Travellers threaded, in their descent, an irregular tortuous ravine, in company with a dashing torrent which pours its waters into the Aras; and with it, were finally ushered into the open province of Pásin, through the *Kara-derbend*, a remarkable pass between enormous buttresses of perpendicular rocks, seeming 'like nature's out-posts.' The country beyond, extending to the banks of the Aras, presents a surface of gentle undulations, covered with a soil apparently fertile, and admirably adapted to the cultivation of grain, but now uncultivated. A stone bridge of seven arches, called *chobán-kopry* (shepherd's bridge), is thrown over the Aras, where, coming down from the mountains to the south in which it rises, it meets the Moorts, one of its tributaries. At this point, the road from Tabriz falls in with that leading to Erzeroom from Kars. The snowy ridge which bounds the plain of Pásin, separates it from the still loftier plain of Erzeroom, thus dividing the head waters of the Araxes from those of the Euphrates, as the ridge at the western extremity of the plain, separates the waters



of the latter river from those which reach the Black Sea by the Iris and the Akampsis.

With regard to the rival pretensions of the Erzeroum river and the Murad-chai to be considered as the true Euphrates, it is, we think, very apparent that the latter has the longer course, and must bring down the larger volume of water, although the former may possibly descend from the higher level. The plain of Erzeroum, situated in what is called High Armenia, is supposed to be 7000 feet above the level of the sea; and its climate may be judged of from the following description.

‘From the 13th to the 22d of June, the thermometer ranged at mid-day, in the open shade, from 55° to 65°. We were hardly comfortable with common winter clothing; it rained every day, and the wind was cold and bleak. Indeed, the mountain just above the town, in a shower of the 15th, received an addition to its snow, and became completely white; and at our second visit, a snow-drift was lying in its streets the last of April. We could not learn that any species of fruit whatever is produced nearer than two or three days’ journey. Reflect now that fossil coal is unknown, and no wood is used except pine, and that brought from a distance of three days’ journey, and you will allow me to call the climate and the country inhospitable.’

Vol. I. p. 136.

On the other hand, the *Gedûk-dagh*, which separates the basin of the Murad-chai from that of the Aras, is described by Mr. Smith as the highest crossed in any part of their journey, the passage occupying six hours; and the plain of Bayazeed, almost encircled by the lofty summits of Ararat, would appear to be so much more wintry than that of Pasin on the Turkish side, as to indicate a very considerable elevation; and we strongly incline to believe that it will be found still higher than the plain of Erzeroum, and, in fact, the loftiest in Armenia.

This seems the best place to introduce a general view of the physical geography of this imperfectly explored region. Armenia, in the most flourishing period of its history, was divided into fifteen provinces, which were again subdivided into almost as many cantons as there are valleys in that mountainous region. In the centre was the province of Ararat, ‘distinguished,’ we are told, ‘for its extent and fertility;’ adjoining to which was that of Durooperan; and the others were situated as follows:—Oodi and Kookark on the north; Daik on the n.w.; High Armenia (Erzeroum) on the w.; Fourth Armenia on the s.w.; Aghdznik (Akhznik), Mogk, and Gorjaik (Gorshek), on the s.; Persarmenia on the s.e.; Vasbooragan\* on the e.; Sunik, Artsakh,

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\* ‘The largest and most important of all the Armenian provinces; the residence of the king and the *katholikos*’; called also the land of the Ardsrunians. Neumann’s Notes to the History of Vartan, p. 87.

and Phaidagaran on the N.E. These names, however, convey but little distinct information; we shall endeavour to reduce them to greater distinctness, by exhibiting their present political distribution.

	ARMENIA MINOR.	Modern divisions.
Ottoman.	First Armenia.	Pashalik of Kaiserieh.
	Second Armenia.	————— Siwas.
	Third Armenia.	————— Merash.
	ARMENIA MAJOR.	
Ottoman.	Fourth Armenia.	Pashalik of Diarbekir.
	Akhznik.	————— Orfah.
	Mogk.	————— Mosul?
Persian.	Gorshek.	{ Borders of Kourdistan and Adj- erbijan.
	Persarmenia (or Parsga- haik).	
Russian.	Vasburagan.	{ Province of Erivan, and part of the pashalik of Van and Adjerbijan.
	Sunik (or Sisagan).	{ Province of Nakchevan, and part of Karabaugh.
	Phaidagaran (or Paidarka- ran).	{ The Karabaugh * and district of Ganjeh.
	Arzakh.	
	Oodi.	
	Kookark (the <i>Gogarene</i> of Strabo).	{ <i>Somkheti</i> or Armenian Georgia.
Ottoman.	Daik (or Dahestan).	{ Pashalik of Akhaltsikhe or Ak- hiska.
	Garin (or High Armenia).	{ Pashalik of Erzeroom.
	Ararat.	{ Pashaliks of Kars and Baya- zeed.
	Duroperan (or Turuberan).	{ Part of the pashalik of Baya- zeed and part of Kourdistan.

Armenia, it will be seen from the above enumeration of its provinces, is an appellation applied to a groupe of countries, inhabited by different races, subject to different governments, and probably at no time united under one monarchy. We know not, indeed, upon what sufficient authority several of them are comprised in the list of Armenian provinces. The names, First, Second, Third, and Fourth Armenia, are of Roman origin, and denote provinces peopled chiefly by Armenian colonists, but forming

\* 'Shoosha is the present capital of the Russian province of Karabaugh, which embraces the ancient Paidagarān, with parts of Oodi, Artsākh, and Sūnik, and occupies the space between the Koor and the Aras at their junction.' Smith. Vol. I. p. 279.

no part of their original country. Still less is Akhznik, in Mesopotamia, entitled to be included; and in the History of Vartan, we find it expressly distinguished, from 'the land of the Armenians.' Kookark also, would seem to belong more properly to Georgia. Thus, we have reduced the fifteen provinces of Armenia to twelve. Of these, according to the learned Translator of Vartan, 'Great Armenia,' or that part which, on the division of the kingdom, fell to Persia, comprised the six provinces of Ararat, Vasburagan, Sunik, Mogk, Gorshek, and Parsgahaik, with part of Duroperan. But, as the provinces of the Karabagh, bordering on Albania, could not have belonged to 'the land towards the West,' which fell to the share of the Greeks, we must conclude that Arzakh, Oodi, and Phaidagaran were not then considered as part of Armenia. The Greek portion, therefore, must have consisted chiefly of what is now the pashalik of Erzeroom, the name of which indicates that the territory was considered as belonging to the *Rumi*, or Greeks.

Limiting our description to the above provinces of Oriental Armenia, which we may regard as Armenia Proper, we find the country to comprise the whole valley of the Aras, the Mesopotamia of the Aras and the Kour, the valley of the Murad-chai or Eastern Euphrates, and part of the elevated basins of Lakes Van and Ourmiah; the limits on the side of Kourdistan and Adjerbijan being doubtful, and varying at different periods. The latter country, the *Media Atropatene* of the ancients, is called in Armenian, *Mark*, i. e. frontier or border country; and it is probable that it was a neutral or disputed territory. Ancient Assyria seems to have extended northward to the boundaries of Ararat; and if so, it must have comprised the pashaliks of Van and Diarbekir, with Persarmenia, and probably part of Adjerbijan; answering, in fact, pretty exactly to modern Kourdistan. The kingdom of Ararat, referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures, probably consisted of the modern province of that name and Duroperan, comprising the pashalik of Bayazeed, watered by the Murad-chai, and the whole of Kars, or the upper part of the basin of the Aras, with part of the territory of Van. The mountain to which Europeans give the name of Ararat, is known to the Armenian natives under no other name than *Masis* \*, while the Turks call it *Aghur-dagh*.

\* The name of Ararat is applied in Scripture only to a country, which is in one instance called a kingdom. The similar name of *Ararad* was given by the Armenians, long before they had received the Scripture account of the flood, by their conversion to Christianity,

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\* Can this word, by any transmutation of letters, be related to the *Baris* of Josephus? *Baris* signifies a ship.



to the central, largest, and most fertile province of their country; the one which, with the doubtful exception of some 230 years, was the residence of their kings or governors from the commencement to the termination of their political existence, and nearly in the centre of which this mountain stands. The singular coincidence argues much for the identity of the Ararat of Scripture with the Ararat of Armenia.—Vol. II. p. 74.

Of this, we conceive, there can be no reasonable doubt. But which was the kingdom of Minni, mentioned as bordering on, yet distinct from, that of Ararat? As the former is mentioned *after* the latter, it was probably more remote from Judæa. If the word is related to Armenia, may it not have designated those provinces in the basin of the Araxes, which appear to have been the original seat of the Armenian monarchy; that is to say, Erivan, Nakchevan, and the Karabaugh? Ardashad, the Artaxata of the Greek and Roman writers, by whom it is so often referred to as the capital of Armenia during the first centuries of the Christian era, was situated at the junction of the Medzamor with the Araxes. The Medzamor, Mr. Smith remarks, was undoubtedly the river which flows by Ardisheer in Erivan, as there is no other of any kind between the valleys of the Zengy and the Arpa-chai. It enters the Aras a little above the convent of Khor-virab, about two hours from Ardisheer; and the Aras flows along in plain sight, about half a mile distant. The convent derives its name, which signifies 'a deep pit', from a celebrated cave within its precincts, in which, according to the legendary Historian of Armenia, St. Gregory the Illuminator was confined by King Tiridates for fourteen years, in the midst of serpents, and in the endurance of multiplied torments; from which the conversion of the king, by means of his sanctity and miraculous powers, alone released him. The Armenians regard the place with the most superstitious veneration, and it is hardly less an object of pilgrimage than Echmiadzin.

'Whether the legend that gave birth to the convent,' adds Mr. Smith, 'be true or false, it had undoubtedly gained currency while the location of Ardashad was yet well known; and that the Khor-virab was in the citadel of that city, is an essential part of the story. . . . The rocky eminence on which the convent stands, is the only spot adapted for a citadel; and the low soil around, being extremely moist, and in many places marshy, must render the spot, as was Ardashad, very unhealthy. We observed, however, no signs of former fortifications or edifices; and the *vartabed* (who said that his convent stood within the precincts of that city) confessed that no ruins of it are now to be found. We had from Khor-virab, our nearest view of Mount Ararat. The limit of the Russian territory here, is not the river, but the mountain. So that in Ararat centre the boundaries of the three empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.' Vol. II. pp. 85, 6.

On the other hand, the name of Ardisheer might seem to indicate that it represents the ancient capital; and near it are found extensive ruins, of which Sir Robert Ker Porter took a sketch in 1817.\* Mr. Smith thus describes the site.

‘Within a few rods of Ardisher are the ruins of an ancient city, to the examination of which we devoted a part of the afternoon. Its citadel resembles an artificial hill, surrounded by a wall and a ditch. The city itself had double walls, which are now nothing but large mounds of earth, enclosing an extensive tract with one or two small villages. In no part did we discover any traces of stone work, and the whole seems to have been built, in the modern style of the country, of mud. The name of the modern village might naturally be expected to afford a clew to that of the ancient city; but the only trace I find of such a name in these parts, is, that Ardashad was called in later times Ardashar. The location forbids us to suppose that city to have been here. We were inclined to think that they are the ruins of Tovin, a city which, from its foundation in A.D. 350 to A.D. 859, was the capital of the country, and the name of which frequently occurs in history, especially during the reign of the Persian and Arabian governors. It was situated to the north of Ardashad, in a more healthy spot, on the river Azad or Medzamor; and its name signified a hill. A river, which must be the same, now comes down from the mountains here, and fertilizes a broad tract; and though it is so distributed into small canals for purposes of irrigation, that the main bed cannot be distinguished, one of the branches passes directly by the ruined walls.’

Vol. II. pp. 36, 7.

If Tovin succeeded to the honours of Artaxata, it is not to be wondered at that (as in the case of Comana) the ancient name should have been transferred to the modern site. Erivan, which has since risen to be the capital, is situated many miles from the Aras, in a broken valley, through which flows the Zengy, the outlet of the Lake of Sevan, called in Turkish, *Gökscheh derya* (the azure sea). The city itself is without walls; but, about a quarter of a mile to the south, is the citadel, which is almost a distinct town.

‘Erivan,’ says Mr. Smith, ‘seems to have been first fortified and raised into importance, in the earlier reigns of the Sofian dynasty; and, though occasionally taken by the Osmanlies, it has, from that period, been considered the chief place in the Persian division of Armenia. Under the present dynasty, it was the residence of a governor with the title of *serdar*, who, for his power and the importance of his territories, ranked among the highest officers of Persia, until it fell during the last war into the hands of the Russian Emperor. By him it has been made the capital of the province of Armenia, which we found governed

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\* Mr. Neumann, following Injijean, says, ‘These ruins are now called by the Armenians, ‘the Deep Pit or Ditch.’ (Notes to Hist. of Vartan, p. 88.) He confounds them with Khor-virab.

by an Armenian with the title of prince and the rank of a general in the army.' Vol. II. p. 89.

The Russian province of Armenia comprises the two *ci-devant* Persian provinces of Erivan and Nakhchevan, so named from their capitals: the Arpa-chai forms the present boundary between them. Nakhchevan claims the honour of being the oldest city in the world.

' Armenian etymology shews that the name signifies, *first place of descent, or lodging*; (*Nakh*, first, and *chevan*, place of descent or lodging, corresponding exactly to *menzel* in Arabic;) and Armenian tradition affirms, that Noah first resided here after descending from Mount Ararat. Such a tradition can of course rest upon no satisfactory authority; but that the whole is not of Christian origin, is proved by the fact, that the name *Naxuana* is given to it by Ptolemy, and that Josephus, fifty years before him, affirms that the Armenians call the place where the ark rested, *the place of descent*. From the first mention of it in Armenian tradition as the spot where the family of Ajtahag (Astyages) was located, it is often noticed, both by native and foreign historians, as one of the most important cities in this part of Armenia. But so far back as the time of Chardin, it was a heap of ruins, and formed "in truth," says he, "a pitiable object." It is situated about two *fürsakhs* from the Aras, on the edge of a higher level than the alluvial plain immediately bordering upon that river. Around and in the city are numerous gardens, which even at this season gave evidence, by the size of their trees and shrubbery, of extreme luxuriance; and the abundance of quinces, pears, apples, melons, pomegranates, grapes, and almonds, which stocked the bazar, confirmed their character for fertility. The grapes especially were almost unequalled in excellence, and seemed to deserve the honour of growing on the spot where "Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted a vineyard." The melons too were so plenty, that, together with bread, they seemed to form almost the sole food of the common people. But fruits, with all their charms, are here, as almost wherever they abound, both indicative and productive of disease, by the miasmata arising from the well-watered gardens which produce them, and the vapid diet to which they lead. Nakhchevan is as noted for its sickliness as for its fertility.

' The city was ruined during the last year, and its inhabitants have not yet recovered energy to rebuild it. Wherever you turn, nothing but dilapidated walls meet your eye; and these, being composed entirely of dried mud, of which almost every edifice is built, have a peculiarly "pitiable" aspect.'

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' Mount Ararat is situated N. 57° W. of Nakhchevan, and S. 25° W. of Erivan, on the opposite side of the Aras; and from almost every point between the two places, the traveller has only to look across the valley, to take into one distinct field of vision, without a single intervening obstacle, the mighty mass from its base to its summit. At Erivan, it presents two peaks, one much lower than the other, and appears to be connected with a range of mountains extending toward



the northwest, which, though really elevated, are in comparison so low, as only to give distinctness to the impression of its lonely majesty. From Nakhchevan, not far from a hundred miles distant, and also from our present point of observation, it appears like an immense isolated cone of extreme regularity, rising out of the low valley of the Aras; and the absence of all intervening objects to shew its distance or its size, leaves the spectator at liberty to indulge the most sublime conceptions his imagination may form of its vastness. At all seasons of the year, it is covered far below its summit with snow and ice, which occasionally form avalanches, that are precipitated down its sides with the sound of an earthquake, and, with the steepness of its declivities, have allowed none of the posterity of Noah to ascend it. It was now white, to its very base, with the same hoary covering; and in gazing upon it, we gave ourselves up to the impression that on its top were once congregated the only inhabitants of the earth, and that, while travelling in the valley beneath, we were paying a visit to the second cradle of the human race.

‘Two objections are made to the supposition that Scripture refers to this mountain when it speaks of “the mountains of Ararat.” One is, that there are now no olive-trees in its vicinity, from which Noah’s dove could have plucked her leaf. And it is true, so far as we could learn, that that tree exists neither in the valley of the Koor nor of the Aras, nor on the coast of the Caspian, nor any where nearer than Batoom and other parts of the eastern coast of the Black sea, a distance of seven days’ journey of a caravan, or about 130 miles in the circuitous route that would thus be taken. But might not a dove make this journey in a day? Or might not the climate then have been warmer than it is now? The second objection is drawn from the fact, that some of the old versions and paraphrases, particularly the Chaldee and the Syriac, refer “the mountains of Ararat” to the mountains of Kûrdistan, where there is, not far from Jezeerch, a high mountain called Joody, on which the moslems suppose the ark to have rested. But if the ark rested on that, the posterity of Noah would, most likely, have descended at once into Mesopotamia, and have reached Shinar from the north; while, from the valley of the Aras, they would naturally have kept along on the eastern side of the mountains of Media, until they reached the neighbourhood of Hamadan or Kermanshah, which is nearly east of Babylon. Such is the route now taken every day by all the caravans from this region to Bagdad. The Armenians believe, not only that this is the mountain on which the ark rested after the flood, but that the ark still exists upon its top; though, rather from supernatural than from physical obstacles, no one has yet been able to visit it.’ Vol. II. pp. 60; 75—77.

This legend is as old as Berosus and Nicolaus of Damascus, both of whom are cited by Josephus. The former states, that some part of the vessel of Xisuthrus, which was stranded in Armenia, yet remained in the Coreyræan (or Cordyéan) mountains of Armenia; ‘and the people scrape off the bitumen with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way

‘of an alexipharmic and amulet.’\* Nicolaus, who flourished about the age of Augustus, merely states, that the remains of the vessel were long preserved upon the mountain.† They had in his time, it seems, disappeared. But that the ark rested upon the inaccessible *summit* of the mountain, is a childish legend. The only question is, whether *this part* of the Ararat mountains, (for Ararat, we have seen, is not the name of any particular summit,) was the place where the ark rested. If we are correct in limiting the original Minni (or *Αρμενία*) to the provinces of Erivan and Nakchevan, little doubt can be entertained on the subject; and both the local traditions perpetuated in the ancient names, and the argument suggested by Mr. Smith, confirm the supposition. These mountains, being connected with the Median or Kourdish range, may not improperly have been described under the name of Corcyraean (*ἐν τοῖς Κορκυραίων ὄρεσι*), by which word the Kordyéan or Kourdish is supposed to be intended.‡

It is a remarkable fact, that, while the valley of the Aras affords a ready descent from the mountains of Ararat, which has been a sort of highway from the time of Noah to the present day, the country enclosed by those mountains to the west and south, through which the eastern Euphrates descends towards Mesopotamia, the ancient kingdom of Ararat and the upper part of Assyria, have remained almost unknown and inaccessible. It is, we think, very apparent that the western writers had no knowledge of the Murad-chai, or of the region which intervenes between the basin of the Araxes and that of Lake Van and the head waters of the Tigris. What is still stranger, in Mr. Avdall’s map of Armenia, taken from that given by Father Chamich (or Chamchean) in his larger History, we find Erzeroom standing on the *Tigris*; and the whole arrangement exhibits a curious specimen of hypothetical geography, indicating the prevalence of singular misconceptions. Thus, Ararat seems to have been to the present day a centre of diverging nations, the barrier between the eastern and western portions of the elder world.

It appears from the Old Testament, that, bordering upon Armenia and Ararat, there was a third kingdom or state, known under the name of Ashkenaz, which Bochart supposes to be part of Phrygia bordering on the Hellespont, called *Ascania* by Homer. This is, indeed, taking a strange leap in geography; though one not quite so prodigious as that of the modern Jewish commentators, who render the word Germany! It is offered

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\* Cory’s Fragments, p. 29.

† *Ib.* p. 49.

‡ Gorshek, the Armenian province bordering on Assyria, is probably related to the Greek word Corcyraean.

as a mere conjecture, but one of a more probable character, that Albania and Georgia are referred to under that name.

We trust that our readers will not have deemed this long geographical digression wholly uninteresting or unsatisfactory. It has cost us no small pains to reduce the imperfect information we possess to a consistent shape; and it must be left to future travellers to verify much that we have ventured to indicate. The present Travellers, however, have contributed most materially both to enlarge and to correct our previous knowledge of the whole region. Apart from historical associations, Armenia Proper would seem to be as uninviting and unpleasing a part of the world as any tract not absolutely desert can be; and if Noah made his descent upon Ararat, supposing the aspect of the country to have undergone no material change, one may readily imagine that the patriarchal family would lose little time in escaping to more genial regions. All the way from Tabriz to Erzeroom, 'a distance of more than 300 miles in a westerly direction, and nearly the whole breadth of Armenia,' our Travellers found no forest-trees, with the exception of a little cluster of pines at the Shepherd's Bridge, nor scarcely a wild bush, except in one small spot near the Murad-chai. The absurd notion, that the garden of Eden is to be sought for in any part of Armenia, is undeserving of serious refutation, since, wherever it was situated, it must be concluded that the Deluge would destroy every trace of it; and the description in Gen. ii. 10—14, if not, as Mr. Penn suggests, an ancient gloss, is certainly irreconcilable with post-diluvian geography. Mr. Smith refers to the notion that it was situated in the valley of the Aras, of which he gives the following description.

'The valley of the Aras is much narrower than that of the Koor. Of its comparative fertility we had little opportunity to judge, as our path rarely led us down to the alluvial which borders on the river. What we saw of it, however, and the extreme productiveness of the tracts watered by the two or three tributary streams that crossed our path, led us to think its fertility could hardly be exceeded. Yet in no case was any thing produced without constant irrigation, caused by conducting water, sometimes to a great distance, in artificial canals. Wherever a canal could not be made to reach, not only was no crop cultivated, but even grass seemed hardly to grow, and unsightly saline weeds covered with thorns, only added to the aspect of barrenness. If it be true, as some have imagined, that we are to look here for the site of Eden, surely in no part of the earth is the primeval curse more palpably inflicted, than in the original paradise of Adam. Nowhere is it more true, that man "eats bread in the sweat of his face," and nowhere are "thorns and thistles" more spontaneously produced. The mountains around, instead of being covered with trees as in the Kara-bagh, or clothed with verdant pastures as at Erzroom, present nothing but forbidding precipices of rock or of earth, apparently without even a spire of grass. Their variegated colours, however, from white to fiery



red, embracing in fact almost every shade of the rainbow, indicate that, though so miserably poor in the vegetable, they may be rich in the mineral kingdom. The whole scene of valley and mountain presents not a tree, except in the immediate vicinity of the villages. Their mud houses are frequently half concealed in the foliage of fruit-trees. Another of their features, also, not less unseemly than this was ornamental, deserves to be noticed. The cow-dung, which had been prepared for fuel during the warm months, was now piled in conical stacks at every door, and formed, by their height and number, wherever we went, a more prominent object than the houses themselves.

Vol. II. pp. 79, 80.

But we must not indulge ourselves in further description. The remainder of this article we shall devote to the more important information to be collected from these researches respecting the moral and political condition of the Armenians.

The picture which is drawn of the religious state of this nominally Christian nation, is melancholy in the extreme. The darkest ignorance envelops both priests and people. The convents, instead of being asylums of learning or retreats from the passions that agitate the world, 'are the very centres of the most unprincipled ambition, of the darkest intrigue, and of the bitterest dissension.' 'Under the veil of celibacy is covered every species of unchastity.' Of this so thoroughly are the common people aware, that no man, the Travellers were assured, would put confidence in the continence of a *vartabed*. So infamous a reputation has Echmiadzin, the metropolitan seat of the Patriarch, that 'parents are reluctant to send their sons thither;' and this was assigned as the reason of its having no school! Instead of contributing to enlighten their nation by schools or by the publication of books, the monks seem not aware that those which are to be found in their libraries, were designed to be read.\* The character of the bishops is no better, and their income is derived chiefly from exorbitant fees and the most disgraceful simony. Their influence over the minds of the people, is very great; but the respect yielded to them, is the effect of fear, rather than of esteem. 'With them is lodged the tremendous power of excommunication, which is believed both to shut the gates of heaven effectually against all who incur its anathemas, and to

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\* Under such circumstances, it is satisfactory to learn that the monachism of Armenia is on the decline. A new convent was neither seen nor heard of by the Travellers, in any part of the country; but, in every province, the ruins of old ones are numerous. In Karabagh, three only are inhabited, and five have gone to decay. In Erivan, which, in Chardin's time, contained 23 for men and 5 for women, there are now but ten monasteries; and the only nunneries they could hear of, are two small establishments at Tiflis and Shoosha.

‘bring along with it the severest temporal judgements upon their persons and property.’ The morals of the people are such as might be expected under the double yoke of Turkish oppression and ecclesiastical bondage. ‘Lying is so common as almost to form a part of their nature. So blinded even is their conscience, as not to be easily persuaded to regard it as a sin. Mutual confidence, of course, hardly exists.’ ‘Both Moslem and Armenians are sufficiently given to falsehood, but the latter more so than the former’; and ‘the kindred vice of profaneness, in all its varieties, is equally common to both sects.’ The condition of the women is not less degraded than in Mohammedan countries\*; and a strong prejudice exists against female education. As to education of any kind for even their boys, the common people shew little anxiety. The average number of adults who can read, is estimated at little more than two in a hundred. In Persian Armenia, there are no schools of any kind; and only fourteen native Armenian schools were ascertained to exist in the whole region over which the inquiries of the Travellers extended. In fact, few books are accessible; and a new one is an extremely rare phenomenon. Not a newspaper in the Armenian language exists. And their Scriptures and sacred books are in a dead language.

‘It is a singular feature of the whole region of Armenia, that every sect and nation inhabiting it, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Turks, Persians, and Kûrds, address God in an unknown tongue!’

Vol. II., p. 73.

The vernacular Armenian is in the usual state of an unwritten language, deformed by provincial dialects, and ‘all so corrupt that the uneducated, it is believed, can no where understand even the general meaning of books in the ancient tongue.’

‘These numerous variations, however, may be considered as embraced in *two* dialects, differing so that, while all who speak any of the branches of one of them are mutually understood, they are unable to comprehend a book written for those who speak the other. As one has Constantinople for its centre, it may be named the dialect of Constantinople; while the other, from its being spoken in Armenia, may be called after the celebrated mountain in the centre of that country, the dialect of Ararat. The former, it is believed, extends from the capital of Turkey through Asia Minor and the pashalik of Erzroom, and has borrowed not only many terms, but also forms of construction from the Turkish. The latter is spoken throughout the rest of Armenia, and both in the words used, and in their arrangement, is nearer

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\* In some respects, more so. In many places, ‘parents even sell their daughters for the most criminal purposes;’ and the priests have been found to share in the gain! Vol. II. p. 153.

the original language. The missionaries here, from whom we received this theory, know that books printed for Constantinople are not understood in these parts, while their own in the dialect of Ararat have been found perfectly intelligible throughout the Georgian provinces, the pashaliks of Kars and Bayezed, the province of Aderbaijan, and even at Bagdad.

‘In the dialect of Constantinople, several works have been printed, especially at the press in Venice, and a translation of the New Testament has been published at Paris by the British and Foreign Bible Society. But in the dialect of Ararat, the books printed by the missionaries here are the only ones, so far as we learned, that exist.’

Vol. I. p. 299.

The Missionaries alluded to, are those stationed at Shoosha, sent out by the Missionary Society at Basle, respecting whose proceedings some interesting details are given; and the suggestions of the Author with regard to the best method of conducting future operations among the Armenians, claim the attentive consideration of the directors of Missionary Institutions. In many respects, the Armenian Christians seem closely to resemble, in their spiritual condition, those of the Greek Church. Piety is, perhaps, still more rare; but downright infidelity, says Mr. Smith, ‘is not an enemy with which the missionaries have had to contend.’

‘It hardly exists among the Armenians in these parts. The great evil is, a superstitious reliance upon the external observances of religion, to the neglect of its vitality. The common people have almost no idea of spiritual religion, nor in fact of any doctrines, but such as tell them when and how to make the cross, to fast, feast, confess, commune, and the like; and the only practical effect of their religion of course, is to cause the performance of such ceremonies. In this state their minds rest perfectly indifferent and spiritually dead. No spirit of inquiry has been found anywhere. Efforts to excite such a spirit, however, have not been in vain. The missionaries are indeed looked upon as chargeable with great heresies, and none the less so for being the followers of Luther and Calvin; who, probably through the influence of papal missionaries, are generally regarded as heresiarchs. But the Armenian church does not imitate the exclusiveness of Rome, in condemning as heirs of perdition, all who are without its pale; and its members are taught to regard other Christians as holding indeed to doctrines and rites inferior to theirs, but as members of the catholic church of Christ. Instead, therefore, of being turned away at once, the missionaries have found no difficulty in obtaining a hearing. They have been gratified also to find, that though the Armenian church receives as decidedly as any other, the canons and traditions of the Fathers in addition to the word of God, as its standard of faith and practice, still, the common sense of the community, when the question of paramount authority is started, always decides in favour of the Scriptures. They are considered and felt to be of binding authority, and an appeal to them in argument is generally final and satisfactory. Thus a firm support is found for appeals to the conscience; and the



common people have often been seen to feel the force of the plain preaching of the gospel, and to listen to it with interest. In some places, especially in Bakoo and Shamakhy, the most pleasing fruits have attended the dispensation of divine truth. In the former place, a few, and in the latter, twenty-five or thirty, meet together privately for the reading of the Scriptures and attending to other means of grace, and have virtually separated from their church. With them the brethren correspond by letter; and also send them religious treatises in manuscript, which, not being subject to the censorship, can be more explicit in doctrine than if they were printed. Encouraging hopes are entertained that they will persevere unto the end; and information as late as August 4th, 1831, says, "that many awakened souls in Shamakhy and Bakoo go on with firmness in the midst of the opposition they have to encounter." Vol. I. pp. 312—314.

As to the political condition of the Armenians, the rapacious encroachments of Russia must be regarded as, for them, a fortunate circumstance; for, although they have always been better treated by the Ottomans than any other class of their Christian subjects, still, they were exposed to both injustice and insult; and they have consequently hailed the brutal *Roos* as their deliverers. The tide of emigration is, in fact, flowing so strong into the Russian territory, as to threaten to leave the Ottoman provinces without a Christian population. Erzeroom, which, previously to the Russian invasion, contained 11,733 Turkish and 4645 Christian houses, (about 80,000 souls,) was found deserted by all the Christian population, except 120 Armenian and 48 Papal Armenian families; and of its former 6600 shops, 3000 were shut! Should an Armenian population again assemble there, it would be an important centre for missionary operations. The province of Erivan, on the other hand, which, before the war, contained only 12,000 families in 302 villages, is stated now to comprise a population of 14,000 Armenian and 8000 Moslem families, inhabiting 502 villages. Whatever be the motives of ambition which instigate the gigantic power of Russia in continually pushing forward her frontier southward and eastward, and whatever may be the ultimate political consequences of her aggrandizement at the expense of the two Mohammedan empires which are receding before her armies, the Christian politician cannot regard without satisfaction the political redemption of these countries from the blighting influence of Turkish and Persian barbarism and intolerance.

The length to which this article has extended, forbids our giving an account of the visit paid by the Travellers to the Nestorians of Ourmiah, who, of all the Oriental Christians, appear to exhibit the most favourable disposition for receiving the light of Scriptural religion. We rejoice to learn that the American Board of Missions have taken measures to commence a mission

among them ; and ' they hope soon,' we are told, ' with the leave ' of Providence, to occupy a number of new stations in that part ' of the world.' We cannot better conclude this article than with the following striking observations upon the importance of attempting the moral recovery of these nominally Christian communities.

' Another important consideration is, *the relation in which these nominal Christians stand toward Mohammedans.*—Their present influence is exceedingly to be deprecated. The moslem has hitherto known Christianity only as the religion of the Christians around him. And in such a position are they placed by his oppressive laws, that, in all the associations of his earlier and his riper years, they occupy the rank of despised inferiors. Such too, I am sorry to say, is their conduct, that he has ever been able to look upon the comparative practical effects of their Christianity and of his Mohammedanism with self-congratulation. Never in the course of their history, have Mohammedans been brought in contact with any form of Christianity that was not too degenerate in its rites, its doctrines, and its effects, to be worthy of their esteem. Preach to him Christianity, therefore, and the moslem understands you to invite him to embrace a religion which he has always regarded as beneath him, and as less beneficial than his own.

' But their influence may be made to be as salutary as it is now deleterious. Indeed the missionary, when he sees the pecuniary oppressions, civil disabilities, and systematic contempt, to which, after centuries of unshaken endurance, they still perseveringly submit for their religion, when a profession of Mohammedanism would at any moment bring relief from them all ; and is led to wonder at the steadfastness with which they have clung to the mere *form* of religion so long after they have lost its *power* ; will perceive in it the orderings of a wise Providence, that a door might be kept open through which missionaries may enter, and plant the standard of the cross in the centre of the otherwise impenetrable bulwarks within which Mohammedanism has intrenched itself. If corrupt forms of Christianity have prejudiced moslems against it, and the ungodly lives of its professors give them complacency in their own corruptions, present to them Christianity in its purity, exemplified in lives of piety, and their apology for rejecting it must vanish ; the glory of their own religion must be turned into shame. Let every missionary station raise up from the corrupt mass of nominal Christians around it, a goodly number of true followers of the Lamb, and it will be a city set on a hill which cannot be hid, a light to lighten the gentiles also. Had the churches of the East remained as when the apostles planted them, how long since would Mohammedanism have shrunk away from their holy contact ? Or rather, would it have ever existed ? Restore to them their primitive purity, therefore, and the prop upon which Mohammedanism has so long stayed itself, is gone, and it must fall. Remove it from the darkness, where, like an unsightly weed, it has grown so rankly, into the noontide blaze of true religion, and it must wither and die.' Vol. II. pp. 334, 335.

Art. II. *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured, and Negro Population of the West Indies.* By Mrs. Carmichael, five years a Resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad. In two Volumes. 12mo. pp. 674. Price 21s. London, 1833.

IF these volumes had not a lady's name prefixed to them, we should be led to pronounce the book one of the veriest catch-penny publications that ever fell under our notice. The charge of twenty one shillings for two slight, trashy duodecimos of this description, is *too bad*. But perhaps the work is intended for the perusal only of the higher ranks, and the exorbitant price put upon it, is benevolently designed to preclude its falling into the hands of any in the lower grades of society, lest the picture of negro happiness which it displays, should breed discontent with their own far inferior lot in this country, where, 'as negroes who have been in England complain, "there is *noting* for *noting*,"'—and they should, with Admiral Barrington, wish they had been born West India slaves.

But seriously; that a woman should be found putting herself forward, or consenting to be put forward, as the vindicator of such a state of society as exists in the West Indies, is a circumstance which cannot but excite deep disgust. Mrs. Carmichael does not, indeed, defend the flogging of female slaves, the unbridled licentiousness of the slave-drivers, the tarring and feathering of missionaries, the burning of chapels, and the flogging of negroes for attending prayer meetings. She does not directly apologise for all these things; but she comes forward to tell us, that the abettors of all these things have been vilified,—that the slaves, whipped and unwhipped, are all most happy, the planters most humane and paternal, and the missionaries most mischievous. Either she believes all this, or she does not. If she does, she is the most credulous of dupes. If she does not, she only affords in her own person, a fresh illustration of the effects of 'a five years' residence' in the moral atmosphere of the West Indies.

With us, we must frankly confess, the testimony of a witness who had spent only five months in a sugar colony, would have much more weight than that of one who had spent five years under the same circumstances. If we wished to ascertain the internal condition of any of our gaols or penitentiaries, or the character of their inmates, we should not select the wife of one of the old gaolers as the most competent witness, nor even the chaplain's lady, especially if we knew that the said chaplain and gaoler complained loudly that the prison was vilified, and deprecated all mischievous interference with their respective prerogatives. Now it so happens that we have, in reference to the subject of slave-flogging, the evidence of this lady, five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad, and, in flat opposition to it, the testimony of another witness who spent but three months in



Jamaica. It is true, that the former *ought* to know more about the matter, and it is difficult to believe that she does not. Nevertheless, we must deem Mr. Whiteley the more credible witness. First let Mrs. Carmichael be heard.

‘ It is a delicate matter upon which I am about to treat ; but I will not shrink from stating facts. The truth is, that there are few negro servants who have not at one time or other been whipped, though rarely after manhood ; that is, whipped with a switch, or, if for a very flagrant offence, perhaps with a horse-whip.

‘ Such punishments do take place on almost all estates, though not frequently, and, as I sincerely believe, never for faults which would not in England subject the offender to punishment of a far more serious nature. Now, without going farther, I would ask, in what does the young negro differ from the apprentice, the school-boy, or any young person in England ? Are not thieving apprentices flogged,—and disobedient children, and idle school boys, and all, at the will, or caprice, it may be, of those who have authority over them ? Or in what particular does the grown-up negro, who perjures himself or commits other gross offences, differ from the man who, for similar crimes, is sentenced by a magistrate to be whipped ? If there be the same criminality, the punishment must be equally just. Does the proprietor of a negro not feel for his fellow creatures, upon such occasions?—some say, he cannot feel, he cannot be humane, if he punishes his negro. This, I need scarcely say, is miserable argument. Does the tender and affectionate, but conscientious parent, feel nothing for his child when he punishes it for the commission of a fault ? Does the foreman of a jury not feel when he delivers his verdict of guilty ? And will any one deny to a judge a kindly feeling—all sentiment of sympathy and pity, because he at times pronounces sentence of death upon the guilty criminal ?

‘ Suppose a negro steals provisions from his neighbour’s grounds, though not at first to a great extent ; he is pardoned, but the master remunerates the other. The offence is committed a second time, and another pardon follows to the thief, and remuneration again must be made to the other slave, who, unless that were done, would beat the aggressor with the utmost cruelty. Is it not apparent in such cases, that some punishment is necessary ? Now the question has hitherto been, *what* punishment ? I admit the cruelty of all corporal punishment ; but we find the British legislature sanctioning the infliction of *murderous* punishment in the army and navy ; and why ? because it is contended, the state of discipline required in the army, renders it necessary : and is it not certain, that a system of discipline is necessary in a colony where the negro population out-number the free, twenty-fold ? Government, which settled the colonies, and sanctioned slave labour, no doubt perceived this ; and in granting the power of inflicting a corporal punishment to *one-eighth* part of the extent of that sanctioned in the army, conceived it necessary in the *then* state of West India society. It is a power which *may* be abused ; and which therefore ought not to be continued one hour beyond the time that necessity renders it imperative ; but I do not hesitate to say, that occasions do

arise, when that necessity is far more apparent than it ever is in the army, whether we look to the difference between negro and European character, or the danger of weakening the authority of the free, over the negro population; and I contend, that the slave proprietor, yielding to this necessity, does not prove that he is destitute of feeling,—for I have minutely examined the subject, and I never yet found in any one instance of corporal punishment, that the master had not been driven to it by a repetition of such conduct, to which no one, as a master, could submit.

‘It is true, that hitherto every proprietor of a negro has considered slavery to consist in his having power over his slave, in so far as to punish him to the amount of thirty-nine lashes. Now the point we have to attend to is, whether such punishments do ever take place to that amount; and if they do, what are the occasions upon which such punishments are inflicted?—have masters been actuated by caprice and whim?—and have they justly earned the character of inhumanity? Every thing I have seen leads me to state conscientiously, that the punishment of thirty-nine lashes seldom takes place; and certainly never for an offence that would not be followed, in Scotland, by transportation for life, and in England most likely by capital punishment. When punishment is considered necessary, I have too often witnessed the distress of a master; and have known myself what it was to feel real pain, when this had to be resorted to in consequence of serious misconduct in negroes, in whom I was really interested, and whose misconduct, I knew from experience, could not be otherwise corrected.

‘In former times, the managers employed upon estates were not always possessed of those patient and humane dispositions, which all who undertake the management of negroes ought certainly to have; but this remark I make not from my own personal observation, but from what I have often heard stated by many in common conversation, in the West Indies. They were seldom men of any education, and ignorant how to treat the negro; and there is reason to believe that they carried punishment to an unwarrantable length. But even then, there were many humane managers, whom the negroes looked up to with real regard.

‘Managers are now generally a different description of persons—many of them are well informed, superior men. If I am to believe the testimony of the negroes from many different estates, whom I was often in the habit of conversing with, the kindness of the managers on the different estates to which they belonged was conspicuous.

‘I do not feel inclined to have the same unlimited confidence in overseers; for, although they have it not in their power to exercise any cruelty upon the negroes, in the way of excessive corporal punishment, yet they can annoy them, in many other ways, especially by reporting faults in exaggerated colours.’ Vol. I. pp. 326—332.

Now for Mr. Whiteley.

‘I resided on New Ground estate, from the time of my arrival in the beginning of September, and, exclusive of some occasional absences, altogether full seven weeks; and, during that period, I witnessed with my own eyes the *regular* flogging of upwards of twenty negroes. I



heard also of many other negroes being flogged by order of the overseer and book-keepers, in the field, while I resided on the plantation, besides the cases which came under my own personal observation. Neither do I include in this account the slighter floggings inflicted by the drivers in superintending the working gangs,—which I shall notice afterwards.

‘ The following are additional cases of which I have a distinct recollection. But I have retained the precise date of only one of these cases (the 12th), from having found it necessary to destroy almost all my papers, in consequence of the threats of the Colonial Unionists.

‘ 1st. A slave employed in the boiling-house. He was a very stout negro, and uncommonly well dressed for a slave. He was laid down on the ground, held by two men, and flogged on the naked breech in the mode I have described, receiving 39 lashes. I was afterwards assured by one of the book-keepers, that this negro had really committed no offence, but the overseer had him punished to *spite* a book-keeper under whose charge the slave was at the time, and with whom he had a difference; and, as he could not flog the book-keeper, he flogged the slave. Such at least was the account I received from a third party, another book-keeper. I could scarcely have given credit to such an allegation, had I not heard of similar cases on other plantations, on authority I had no cause to doubt.

‘ 2nd & 3rd. Two young women. This punishment took place one evening on the barbecue, where pimento is dried. Mr. McLean, the overseer, and I, were sitting in the window-seat of his hall; and I was just remarking to him that I observed the drivers took great pride in being able to crack their whips loud and well. While we were thus conversing, the gang of young slaves, employed in plucking pimento, came in with their basket-loads. The head book-keeper, as usual, proceeded to examine the baskets, to ascertain that each slave had duly performed the task allotted. The baskets of two poor girls were pronounced deficient; and the book-keeper immediately ordered them to be flogged. The overseer did not interfere, nor ask a single question, the matter not being deemed of sufficient importance to require his interference, though this took place within a few yards of the open window where we were sitting. One of the girls was instantly laid down, her back parts uncovered in the usual brutal and indecent manner, and the driver commenced flogging—every stroke upon her flesh giving a loud crack, and the wretched creature at the same time calling out in agony, “Lord! Lord! Lord!” “That,” said the overseer, turning to me, with a chuckling laugh, “that is the best cracking, by G—d!” The other female was then flogged also on the bare posteriors, but not quite so severely. They received, as usual, each 39 lashes.

‘ 4th & 5th. On another occasion I saw two girls, from 10 to 13 years of age, flogged by order of the overseer. They belonged to the second gang, employed in cane-weeding, and were accused of having been idle that morning. Two other girls of the same age were brought up to hold them down. They got each 39.

‘ 6th & 7th. After this I saw two young men flogged (very severely) in the cooper’s yard. I did not learn their offence.



‘8th. On another occasion, a man in the road leading from New Ground to Golden Spring. We met this man while riding out, and for some offence which I did not learn, (for by that time I had found my inquiries on such points had become offensive,) the overseer called a driver from the field, and ordered him 39 on the spot.

‘9th & 10th. Two young men, before breakfast, for having slept too long. They were mule-drivers, and it being then crop time, they had been two days and a night previously at work without sleep. As the overseer and I were going out at day-break (the sun was not yet up), we found them only putting their harness on their mules. They ought, according to the regulations then prescribed on the plantation, to have been out half an hour sooner; and for this offence they received a severe flogging.

‘11th. A girl who had been missing for some days, having absconded from the plantation for fear of punishment.

‘I shall mention only two other cases which particularly excited my sympathy; for, after a few weeks, although my moral abhorrence of slavery continued to increase, my sensibility to the sight of physical suffering was so greatly abated, that a common flogging no longer affected me to the very painful degree that I at first experienced.

‘12. The first of these two cases was that of a married woman, the mother of several children. She was brought up to the overseer’s door one morning; and one of the drivers who came with her, accused her of having stolen a fowl. Some feathers, said to have been found in her hut, were exhibited as evidence of her guilt. The overseer asked her if she would pay for the fowl. She said something in reply which I did not clearly understand. The question was repeated, and a similar reply again given. The overseer then said, “Put her down.” On this the woman set up a shriek, and rent the air with her cries of terror. Her countenance grew quite ghastly, and her lips became pale and livid. I was close to her, and particularly noticed her remarkable aspect and expression of countenance. The overseer swore fearfully, and repeated his order—“Put her down.” The woman then craved permission to tie some covering round her, which she was allowed to do. She was then extended on the ground, and held down by two negroes. Her gown and shift were literally torn from her back, and, thus brutally exposed, she was subjected to the cart-whip. The punishment inflicted on this poor creature was inhumanly severe. She was a woman somewhat plump in her person, and the whip being wielded with great vigour, every stroke cut deep into the flesh. She writhed and twisted her body violently under the infliction—moaning loudly, but uttering no explanation in words, except once when she cried out, intreating that her nakedness might not be indecently exposed; appearing to suffer, from matronly modesty, even more acutely on account of her indecent exposure, than the cruel laceration of her body. But the overseer only noticed her appeal by a brutal reply, (too gross to be repeated,) and the flogging continued. Disgusted as I was, I witnessed the whole to a close. I numbered the lashes, stroke by stroke, and counted *fifty*,—thus exceeding by eleven the number allowed by the colonial law to be inflicted at the arbitrary will of the master or manager. This was the only occasion on which I saw the

legal number of 39 lashes exceeded, but I never knew the overseer or head book-keeper give less than 39. This poor victim was shockingly lacerated. When permitted to rise, she again shrieked violently. The overseer swore roughly, and threatened, if she was not quiet, to put her down again. He then ordered her to be taken to the hot-house or hospital, and put in the stocks. She was to be confined in the stocks for several nights, while she worked in the yard during the day at light work. She was too severely mangled to be able to go to the field for some days. This flogging took place on the 27th of September.

' 13th. The flogging of an old man, about 60 years of age, is the last case I shall mention. He was the third driver upon the estate,—there being five altogether, whose sole employment was literally *driving*, or coercing by the whip, the negro population to labour. With this old man I had had some conversation, and felt particularly interested in him, for his silvery locks and something in his aspect reminded me powerfully of my aged father, whom I had left in England. He had been upon the estate a great number of years. He told me, that not one of the negroes belonging to the gang he wrought in when he first came to New Ground, was now alive. He came up to the overseer's door at shell-blow one day, and gave in, as is the practice, on a tally or bit of notched stick, his account of the half day's work of the gang he superintended. The overseer was dissatisfied, said it was insufficient, and ordered him to get a flogging. The old man said, "Well, Busha, me could have done no better, had you been standing by." Then, groaning deeply, he laid down his staff and whip, unloosed his clothes, and lay quietly down to be flogged without being held. One of the other drivers, who had been called forward, appeared very reluctant to perform the office; but, on the overseer swearing a rough oath or two, he proceeded to inflict the usual punishment of 39 lashes. The old man, looking up in the overseer's face imploringly, cried out after every stroke for several minutes, "Busha! Busha! Busha!" but, seeing no signs of relenting, he ceased to call on him, expressing his feelings only by groans. I was deeply affected by the sight, and felt at the moment that these groans were an awful appeal to the judgment of Him who heareth the cry of the oppressed. When the punishment was over, and the poor man arose, the other drivers looked at each other and shook their heads, but uttered not a word. They dared not.\*

Mrs. Carmichael denies, that negroes are hard worked in the West Indies at any time;—she denies that it is *possible* to over-work a negro. 'Even if punishment, corporal punishment, were

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\* "Three Months in Jamaica in 1832." By Henry Whiteley. A tract which we should apologize for not having long since recommended to the especial attention of our readers, had not its extensive circulation by the Anti-Slavery Society rendered it quite unnecessary for us to say any thing by way of authenticating its revolting statements, or commending them to public notice.



'resorted to, it is not,' she affirms, 'dreaded by them *half so much as work.*' (Vol. I. p. 96.) Cane-hole digging, which she says she has watched for a length of time, 'is literally nothing 'when compared with ploughing, reaping, or mowing,' in this country! 'The weight of the hoes *are* by no means unwieldy or 'heavy.' (p. 98.) We know not whether this last sentence is West India grammar; but the grammar is good enough for the bold untruth which it conveys, and for which an hour's handling of a West India hoe would be no disproportionate punishment.

But why notice these flimsy volumes? The West India question is settled; why rake up old quarrels, and waste time in afresh confuting detected and now useless falsehoods? Our answer is, that even such a work as this, despicable as it is in every respect, yet when puffed into notice by Quarterly Reviewers and the enemies of missionary labours, may have a pernicious influence, as seeming to possess the weight of personal testimony, to those who are not inclined to take the trouble of cross-examining the witness. The volumes abound with the most direct contradictions throughout, exhibiting an utter carelessness of assertion, or a very singular incoherence of ideas. But these inconsistencies of statement are such as it requires some little penetration to make palpable. We have amused ourselves by fancying Mrs. Carmichael giving evidence, upon oath, before a Committee of the House of Lords, or under the examination of a counsel. The following may be taken as specimens of what would have been the result.

Q. You resided some years in two of the West India Islands.

A. I was for five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad, which I employed 'in minute personal investigation, keeping a 'journal of what I saw.'

Q. What was the general result of your five years' observation?

A. 'Though going out highly prejudiced on the popular side, 'I should be guilty of the grossest misrepresentation, did I not 'state things to be, *in all respects*, as regards master and slave, 'totally the reverse of what the popular belief is.' (Vol. I. p. 210.)

Q. You mean that there is no foundation for the belief that the slaves are over-worked, driven with the cart-whip, or otherwise ill-treated.

A. None whatever. 'I never saw a whip once used, either 'by the driver or by any other person; neither did I ever hear 'a negro complain of such a thing, although I often used to 'make inquiry.' (II. p. 4.)

Q. Then they have no dread of punishment?

A. 'Even if corporal punishment were resorted to, it is not 'dreaded by them half so much as work.' (I. p. 96.)



Q. You mean to say that they are indifferent as to corporal punishment.

A. Quite the contrary. 'Old West India proprietors can recollect the time when the best negroes they had, looked upon flogging as no disgrace. No one can now say this is the case. I have known many negroes possessing such fine feelings, that, were they to be flogged, I feel confident that their first act would be to commit suicide,—though the majority of negroes have not indeed attained this mental superiority.' (II. p. 7.)

Q. Is it then the negroes of fine feelings only who dread punishment?

A. I do not say this. 'It cannot be denied that corporal punishment is a dread, and tends to keep all bad characters in order.' (p. 6.)

Q. And yet it is never employed?

A. 'In former times, the managers employed upon estates were not always possessed of those patient and humane dispositions which all who undertake the management of negroes ought certainly to have. They were seldom men of any education, and ignorant how to treat the negro; and there is reason to believe that they carried punishment to an unwarrantable length.' (I. p. 331.)

Q. Then the popular belief is correct as to *former times*. Has any other improvement taken place?

A. 'Managers formerly often lived very dissolute lives, and this was a matter deeply to be deplored.' (I. p. 332.)

Q. You said just now, that punishment is not dreaded by the negroes half so much as work. Do you mean to say that their work is so hard that they greatly dread it?

A. Not at all. But 'employment is their abhorrence, idleness is their delight.' (I. p. 96.)

Q. Then they are never found working voluntarily,—on the Sunday, for instance.

A. On the contrary; 'all the little boys and girls about the house, have one day for themselves every week—not a Sunday—to work their grounds. On such days they rise earlier, and work longer, than they are ever in the habit of doing for their master. They do often work their grounds on Sunday also; but there is no occasion for this: were they never to lift a hoe on Sunday, they would still have an abundance of food for themselves, their pigs and their poultry, and money for fine clothes also. I do not believe that either English or colonial law will prevent negroes from working on Sunday. "The love of money is the root of evil," applies with great force to the negro character; and I do not think, that if negroes had all the six days of the

‘ week to work their own ground, they would cease from labour on the seventh. I do not of course speak of isolated cases, but of the majority; nor is there wanting practical proof of this truth. Who labours more on the Sunday than the free negro? and even those born free are notorious for this.’ (II. p. 161.)

Q. Then, as they are not unwilling to work their own grounds, it is perhaps the *nature* of the field work that they object to—carrying the manure basket, for instance.

A. ‘ Their carrying manure in this way *appears* disagreeable work; but they laugh at the stranger who supposes it to be so to the negro because it would be so to him. The truth is, in so far as cleanliness is concerned, the negro is indifferent.’ (I. p. 105.)

Q. Are the negroes very uncleanly?

A. Not so. ‘ The better sort of negroes have their dwellings often extremely neat and clean: many a Scotch cottager might blush to see them.’ (I. p. 130.) ‘ All head people upon estates are uniformly well dressed, neat, and clean; and though it is in their own fashion, they look nicer and much cleaner than English country people.’ (I. p. 153.) ‘ Negroes are extremely fond of bathing.’ (p. 152.)

Q. And yet, as to ‘personal cleanliness,’ you said, the negro is ‘perfectly indifferent.’

A. ‘ These sort of things do not affect their personal comfort, because their whole habits and manners of life are different from Britons: what are comforts and pleasures to them, would not be so to us; what we esteem as the comforts and luxuries of life, they would neither thank you for nor make use of.’ (I. p. 105.) ‘ The negro enjoys his calialou soup as much out of his calabash, as the noblemen does his turtle soup out of the finest chased silver.’ (p. 139.)

Q. Are we to understand you to say that the negroes have no relish for the comforts and luxuries of life, and that they are wholly strangers to them?

A. Far from it. ‘ I can avouch that negroes are lodged infinitely better than, with few exceptions, the working population of England. Negroes who live in town as domestics, have always a boarded floor to their houses. I have seen a few single men and women who had only one room, but such houses are by no means common. They have good bedsteads, bedding of plaintain-leaf, feather bolster and pillows, good blanket, sheets and coverlet; chairs, sofa, cupboard, and mahogany table. I have frequently seen a side-table with tumblers, and shades for the candle; looking-glass, two or three boxes full of clothes, showy prints in gilt frames, &c. &c. They always keep their houses clean and tidy inside, and have a great variety of stone-

‘ware in the shape of plates, tea-cups, &c. ; but these are seldom bought by them, being generally stolen, and are regularly displayed merely for ornament—a calabash being the usual substitute for holding their victuals, and being equally clean with a china bowl, it is preferred by them ; for it costs nothing.’ (I. pp. 140—141.)

Q. Nevertheless, the negroes are quite indifferent to the comforts of civilized society ?

A. ‘Place the negro in a comfortable little cottage built after the English fashion,—his neat fire-side,—his nice-looking bed, blankets, and warm curtains,—a glass window ; give him an English breakfast, tea, and supper, and also English clothing, and you would make him quite as unhappy as an English ploughman would be in a negro house with negro fare and clothing.’ (I. p. 126.)

Q. The negroes then have no ‘nice-looking bed’ with blankets and curtains ?

A. ‘Negroes of character and rank, being more civilized, have bedsteads with mosquito curtains, their bedding being for the most part a bag filled with the dried plantain-leaf. This I have myself slept upon, and used in my own family, and have found it a very comfortable bed indeed. They have also a bolster and pillows of the same materials ; blankets, (one Witney blanket is given every year by the master,) a good sheet, and very often a nice bed quilt : the two latter articles are furnished by themselves.’ ‘Many field people have bedsteads, and some have curtains. The plantain-leaf bed is general, and blankets are annually provided ; some have sheets ; but these are luxuries which many of them do not value and would not use.’ (II. pp. 129, 132.)

Q. You were understood to say, that the negroes would, by having these things given them, be rendered very unhappy. Is this found to be the result ?

A. There are ‘some who do not consider household furniture as a comfort, and they either spend their money in fine clothes or in jewellery, or hoard up their savings.’ (p. 138.)

Q. But still, ‘English clothing,’ you said, would make them as unhappy as English ploughmen would be in negro clothing ?

A. I beg leave to correct myself. ‘Negro clothing consists of strong blue woollen cloth, the same that is generally worn by the lower classes of females in Scotland for petticoats.’ ‘Head negroes upon estates, in full dress at holiday time, are extremely gay. They have all fine broad cloth, either made into jackets, such as gentlemen very often wear of a morning in the West Indies, or coats : they have neat waistcoats, either of black kerseymere, or white jean—as they are quite aware that a coloured waistcoat is not dress—their shirt is always of fine



linen, and the collar of a fashionable shape, which, with the cravat, is as stiff as any reasonable dandy could desire. White jean, or linen trowsers, are the usual wear; all head people have shoes, and all servants have stockings, and a long cloth coat; this is given them by their master; but the country people often purchase those articles for themselves. I have seen an estate negro in St. Vincent, dressed at Christmas time as well in every respect as any gentleman could be; and he was a slave whose master was, and had been long absent: he told me every thing he wore was of his own purchasing: he had a quizzing glass, and as good a hat as any white man in the colony; he had a watch ribbon and key, but whether or not he wore a watch, I cannot tell, as I did not put the question to him; but I have seen many with watches and seals. The more common field people have equally good shirts, trowsers and waistcoats; but they have seldom or ever long coats, though frequently good broad cloth jackets; but the most common fashion for them is white jean, or striped coloured jean jackets. They do not often wear shoes, and never stockings. The boys are extremely well dressed; and as they all receive a new hat at Christmas, this adds to the general neat appearance of the negro population at that season.

As for the women, I hardly know how to describe their gala dresses, they are so various. The wives or daughters of estates' head people, have the best of course—if I except domestics, who dress still gayer. They have fine worked muslin gowns, with handsome flounces; satin and sarsenet bodices are very common; their under garments are of the best materials, and they have either good cotton or silk stockings; their kid dancing shoes are often of the gayest colours, while their expensive turbans are adjusted with a grace that makes the dress really appear elegant. It is common for them to have not a hair dresser, but a head dresser, or rather a turban putter on, upon such occasions; and for the mere putting on of the turban, they pay a quarter dollar,—not less than 1s. 1d. sterling!! This is a custom not confined to domestics, but predominates throughout all ranks of the female slave population. They have all beautiful handkerchiefs upon their necks; some are of British manufacture, but many are costly silk ones from Martinique,—while others wear them of India muslin.

The real value of their jewellery is considerable; it consists of massy gold ear-rings, and rings upon their fingers, coral necklaces, and handsome gold chains, locketts, and other ornaments of this description. The more common field female negro, very often if elderly, is decked out in a very large patterned chintz; or perhaps the bodice is made of this, while the skirt is

‘ of muslin ; or, *vice versa*, the skirt chintz, and bodice and sleeves muslin. They all have one really good necklace ; but they often also wear along with it, half a dozen other necklaces, of coloured glass beads, such as light blue, yellow, white, and purple. Every negro has a garnet necklace ; all have ear-rings and rings on their fingers : and at Christmas time, a handsome new turban too is worn. The very youngest baby is well dressed at such a time, and even for a child they scorn old clothes ; indeed, it rarely happens that the same dresses are worn twice at Christmas. I have heard them say to each other, “ Look at so and so, see how mean she be, she wore that very same dress last Christmas.” ’ (I. pp. 144—47.)

Q. All these things make the negroes very unhappy : do they not ?

A. ‘ Really I do think that the negroes in full dress during the holidays, contented and happy as they used to be, was one of the most interesting scenes imaginable. Both men and women have nice white pocket-handkerchiefs to wipe away the perspiration ; and both sexes, young and old, are perfumed with French lavender water : indeed ’—— (p. 149.)

Q. You have stated quite enough to prove how unhappy an English ploughman would be with negro fare and clothing. You will now be so good as to explain how it comes to pass that the field slaves often appear as if they had scarcely a rag to cover them.

A. ‘ This arises from two causes ; first, that a sense of decency is scarcely known to the savage : another reason is, the heat of the climate.’

Q. The negro then you consider as a savage ?

A. ‘ It is easy to trace the progress of civilization in different negroes, according to their style of every-day dress.’ (p. 149.)

Q. You would then encourage a love of dress ?

A. ‘ As you value his true happiness, introduce no artificial wants.’ (p. 139.)

Q. As all the negroes, whether savage or civilized, are well fed, never over-worked, always contented and happy, will you explain the decrease in the slave population ? Do they marry early ?

A. ‘ As soon as a negro girl attains the age of sixteen or seventeen, she probably *gets* a husband, and the male children, perhaps a year or two later, *get* wives.’ (I. p. 131.)

Q. By ‘ getting husbands and wives,’ do you mean that they marry ?

A. ‘ Generally speaking, negroes live unbound by the ties of matrimony. I need not tell the economist, how this state of society tends to prevent the increase of population.’ (II. p. 19.)

Q. Do you mean to speak of the slave population generally, or only of the field negroes?

A. 'Among coloured females, marriage is not very general.' 'It must be conceded, that, as a population, the free coloured class are peculiarly inclined to immorality.' (II. pp. 71, 74.)

Q. You are aware, nevertheless, that while the free population has increased under these circumstances, the slave population has decreased. Will you explain this?

A. I have been informed, that, 'during the continuance of the slave-trade, males greatly preponderated. I believe that this, combined with the frequent manumissions of negroes, will fully account for the decrease in the slave population.' (II. p. 19.)

Q. To what island do you chiefly refer?

A. 'During a residence of nearly three years in St. Vincent, I can recall to my recollection scarcely a single weekly newspaper where there was not one manumission; and I have read the manumission of six or eight negroes, all under one date.' (Ib.)

Q. You resided there from the beginning of 1821 till near the close of 1823?

A. Yes.

Q. It appears from the parliamentary returns, that, from Jan. 1821 to Dec. 1825, the manumissions in that island amounted to 380 on a population estimated in 1817 at 25,218, being, on the average, 76 per annum. The average decrease of the slave population during the same period, was about 125. Deducting 380 manumissions from 625, the decrease of five years, there is a net decrease of 245 within that period, or 1 in every 96, to be accounted for.

A. 'I took some pains to inquire into the matter. The first question I put was this:—during the continuance of the slave-trade, were there more males or females imported?' (Ib.)

Q. A very natural inquiry for a lady to make, who was studying population returns. But are you aware that, so far back as 1817, the numbers of males and females throughout the West India Colonies were close on an equality, and that at the present time, the females exceed the males?

A. 'Should any one consider my statements to be contradictory to each other, I can only say, that I state facts.' (II. p. 233.)

Q. You stated, in answer to some previous questions, that the negroes are so incorrigibly idle, as to dread the light and easy work of the plantations more than punishment. Have you ever heard of their working voluntarily for wages?

A. 'Some free labour, so called, has been performed in Trinidad, under the control of Government; but the labourers work under compulsion, in so far that no planter could have the



‘ same means of inducing them to work as the Government has.’ (II. p. 278.)

Q. Will you have the goodness to explain what you mean by free labourers working by compulsion?

A. I mean, that ‘ I do not believe the present generation of negroes will ever make fine sugar to any amount, unless by compulsory labour, which is no longer free labour, *and which I really do not see how Government could enforce.*’ (II. p. 231.)

Q. Very good. You have perhaps heard of free labour being employed in raising sugar in Colombia?

A. ‘ To the shame of the mother country, who have neglected to send proper religious instructors to her negro population, this example also fails; for, however some Protestants may choose to smile at aught that savours of Popery, I can tell them, that, though Catholics do not teach their slaves to read, yet they most conscientiously teach them, by means of missionaries sent for the purpose, to fear God—to behave honestly, soberly, and respectfully to their masters, and to be industrious. The negroes of Caraccas and Colombia are, therefore, a far more instructed population as regards moral duties, and consequently more likely to act as free men ought.’ (II. p. 278.)

Q. Are the slaves of the Catholic proprietors better instructed in religious duties than those of the Protestants?

A. Decidedly. ‘ What shall we say of the apathy of the Protestant Church of England, when we find the negroes who attend the Roman Catholic chapel, always so much better informed than those left by the Episcopalian church to glean an uncertain instruction. Some of the Laurel-hill children, who had attended the Roman Catholic chapel, crossed themselves when they answered who the Saviour was. Of a Holy Spirit, it might be said they had no idea; their only notion was confined to the word spirit or *jumbee*, the Devil, so that we had not only to teach, but to unteach; a still more difficult task.’ (II. p. 130.)

Q. You had to unteach the negro children who had been so well taught to cross themselves?

A. Yes, but ‘ the Catholic children could all say the Lord’s Prayer and the Belief.’ (p. 131.)

Q. You are aware that Protestant missionaries of different communions have laboured among the negroes?

A. There were Wesleyan Methodists at St. Vincent.

Q. What was the result of their mode of teaching?

A. As to their sermons, ‘ although as plain as sermons could be, I never found that one of our people, even the most intelligent, had gained one idea from them. I think I am justified in saying, that beyond encouraging the habit of attending Divine service, as regards the real conversion of the negro, it is nearly

‘a hopeless method of instruction. I by no means despise the endeavour to establish a habit of regularly attending Divine service; and only mean to say, after having for many years daily studied the negro character, as well as instructed them, that, in my belief, a sermon preached in Arabic would be just as efficacious as in English.’ (p. 223.)

Q. The Methodists do not, however, confine their labours to preaching: do they not teach the children any catechism?

A. Yes, but catechisms ‘appear to me worth nothing as regards the real instruction of the negro; and it seems strange that, even at the present day, so very few people are at all aware of the mischief that *parrot teaching* produces.’ (p. 224.)

Q. Is not the Roman Catholic teaching, parrot teaching?

A. I have before stated, that the Roman Catholic children are better instructed: although not taught to read, they always cross themselves in speaking of the Saviour, and can say the Lord’s Prayer.

Q. Upon the whole, you think that the Methodists do not know how to set about instructing the negroes?

A. ‘Judging by the conduct of those negroes who were the most regular attendants at the Methodist chapel, I am unwillingly driven to the belief, that the Methodist missions have done little for the cause of true religion, and have rather helped to foster dangerous delusions. The Methodists have, I fear, done harm; for they have diffused a general feeling among the negro population, that abstaining from dancing, from drinking, (*a vice, by the way, which negroes are rarely prone to,*) and a certain phraseology, which is mere form on their part, is Christianity. Now it would be much better, if the negroes were taught that lying, stealing, cruelty, slander, and disobedience, were sins in the sight of God, rather than level their anathemas against dancing.’ (I. pp. 229, 30.)

Q. Do you mean to say that the Methodists do not teach the negroes to consider lying, stealing, &c. as crimes?

A. ‘It is not my intention to represent the Methodists as approving or *disregardless* of the sins of lying, theft, &c. I only mean to say, that they insist very much more upon the sin of what they term “vain amusements and dress,” than upon lying, theft, fighting, cruelty, and slander.’ (p. 230.)

Q. So that the negroes, in fact, have no correct moral notions?

A. I do not mean to say that. ‘Negroes of decent habits say their prayers morning and evening, and several have regular family prayer, at which others attend, as well as the negroes of their own family. All tolerably good negroes can say the Lord’s Prayer, and many can say the Creed: they all know the sin of swearing, lying, theft, &c.’ (p. 220.)

Q. You are now speaking of those taught by the Roman Catholic missionaries?

A. Oh, no, by the Methodists. 'I am convinced there is not a negro, old or young, who could not tell me, that one God made the world, and created mankind, and that He is all-powerful and all-seeing. Such questions as these I have proposed a hundred times to negroes of all classes, as well as to children, and I have always received a distinct and intelligent answer in their own dialect.' (*Ib.*)

Q. These negroes then have profited by the instruction they have received?

A. Not in the least. 'Strange as it may seem, I never asked a negro if he knew who was God's Son or the Redeemer of mankind, that he could answer. "Me never know 'bout him", was the universal answer. I have put this question to dozens of negroes of all ages who were in the habit of attending the Methodist chapel; nay, who had attended for years with regularity; and yet it appeared that not one of them had ever heard of the Saviour in so plain a way as to convey to him an idea of his Being.' (p. 221.)

Q. Notwithstanding that many of them can say the Creed, and several have regular family prayer, yet they are universally ignorant respecting the Saviour. Do the Missionaries then never preach about him?

A. I do not mean to convey that idea. But 'the Missionaries, though truly pious and excellent characters, are possessed of little or no discernment. The first time they see the emotion of a negro, when instructing him in religion, they are in transports of joy; enthusiastically persuaded that they have only to preach, and the bulk of the negroes will believe;—they forget that they are speaking to a people emerging only from a savage state; and that the emotions and feelings of an untutored savage, are not the same as the emotion and feeling of a civilized being, whose passions and emotions are artificially controlled. They know not the quickly passing feelings of a negro: and when they see him shed tears at the history of the sufferings of our Saviour, they too often set him down as a sincere convert, without waiting to see whether his emotion has been of such a nature as to produce any practical revolution in his conduct.'

(I. pp. 232—33.)

Q. Will you explain how the negroes who have no idea of the Saviour, and to whom a sermon in English is as unintelligible as if it were preached in Arabic, are moved to tears by the recital of the sufferings of the Saviour?

A. I speak of the effect of 'the system of instruction which I pursued with *my* negroes, in leading their minds from the simple



‘apprehension of a God to the truths of the Gospel and the comprehension of a Saviour.’ (I. p. 222.)

Q. To what do you attribute the incompetency of the Wesleyan Missionaries, or their want of success in communicating distinct ideas on these subjects?

A. ‘I do not think any person of cool judgement will ever expect much to be done in the instruction of the elder negroes, beyond what might be effected by personal exhortation and explanation given familiarly, and, in a great measure, delivered in their own *patois*, upon the simple doctrines of the Bible.’ (I. p. 248.) ‘I cannot help adding to this notice of the Wesleyan Missions, that the discouragement given to social recreations, and especially to dancing, is far from favourable to their utility.’ (II. p. 238.)

Q. To what other circumstance besides their disapprobation of the African dances, do you attribute the inutility of the Missionaries?

A. To the want of a previous knowledge of the world; to their ignorance of the state of any society at home, except what is generally called, “the religious world.” ‘The Missionaries, although often pious and *not unlearned*, are ignorant of the world, and so very unpolished as to render it impossible for them to mix in the *good society* of the West Indies.’ (II. pp. 232, 233, 235.)

Q. This is the reason that they do not succeed in instructing the negroes respecting Jesus Christ?

A. Yes.

Q. From the *good society* of the West Indies, they obtain, it may be presumed, no countenance.

A. That is not exactly the case. ‘On many of the St. Vincent estates, the Wesleyan missionaries preached, and had also schools for religious instruction. There is even, if I mistake not, more than one private chapel upon some of the estates, supplied by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, *built by the proprietors* of the estates. I am, at all events, certain there is one such, which is regularly so supplied; and although the proprietor be himself a steady and conscientious member of the Church of England, he built this chapel in order to procure regular instruction for his negroes. I have several times attended evening service in the Wesleyan chapel, and found the congregation numerous; far exceeding that of the Established Church. Many of the most respectable members of the white population were present; although the majority were always coloured and black. The congregation invariably listened with attention, and the utmost decorum was uniformly preserved; save and except the too frequent groans and deep sighs, to which I have already alluded.

‘ Although the white and coloured population who attend the Methodist chapel, were of course, in general, able to understand the discourse, I feel convinced (after having devoted myself a good deal to the instruction of negroes) that the slave population comprehended almost nothing of it.’ (Vol. I. pp. 236—37.)

Q. But you are not aware that any prejudice against Wesleyan Missionaries existed among the colonists?

A. ‘ In many cases I observed decidedly the reverse, and did, indeed, hear at all times a general regret that the Church of England had not attended to the spiritual instruction of the West India colonies as she ought; nor am I aware of any apology she can offer. I had heard men in authority speak well of the Missionaries in St. Vincent; nor ever, until that year, did I hear one word said, implying a suspicion that they had any secret influence over the minds of the negroes. It was upon occasion of Sir Charles Brisbane, the then governor of St. Vincent, making some remark opposed to what I had ever heard of the Methodists, that I said, “I thought your Excellency had a good opinion of them, and that you had subscribed to their Society.” —“So I did,” answered his Excellency: “one must often hold a candle to the devil in this world.”’ (II. pp. 234, 5.)

Q. Meaning the missionaries?

A. Yes: and Sir Charles added: “I’ll tell you what,—if there was a disturbance in the island, the Methodists would have more power than you are aware of.” I answered, that I hoped they would employ it judiciously. “Well, then,” said his Excellency, “don’t you see, that it is very necessary to keep them in good humour, and give them a subscription?”’

(II. p. 235.)

Q. But you did not agree with Sir Charles?

A. ‘ Up to the period of my leaving Laurel Hill, I thought the Missionaries well intentioned.’ (p. 237.) ‘The Missionaries have been often decidedly opposed in the West Indies since 1825, there can be no doubt; but the whole fault rests with themselves. Had they acted a candid, straight-forward part, they would have fared very differently; but they have never come forward and made one single, honest, manly denial of all the calumnies spoken and published against them. One such avowal would have effected more than all the reiterated and accumulated assertions of the planters.’ (II. p. 244.)

Q. You mean, had the Missionaries come forward to deny the calumnies propagated against themselves—

A. Oh no; *they* have not been calumniated—I mean the calumnies against the planters. Had the Missionaries, as I have done, come forward to assert that the whip is scarcely ever used by the driver or any other person, or to deny that the slaves are over-worked, or otherwise than happy and contented, their avowal would have

gained belief more than the reiterated assertions of the planters, which no one believes.

Q. And because they have not come forward with these assertions, they have 'fared' as they have done?

A. Yes; 'the feeling of confidence in Dissenters, which once existed to a great extent in the West Indies, is now thoroughly destroyed, and can never be restored. Therefore, no plan of instruction, when the teachers are not to be *bonâ fide* members of one or other of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, will ever meet with encouragement from the planter.' (II. p. 248.)

Q. Is it then your opinion, that no other teachers should be tolerated in the colonies?

A. 'No advice or interference ought to be used, to prevent the negro from attending what place of worship he might prefer, be it the Episcopalian Church, or a Roman Catholic or Dissenting chapel: nor should any allusion to distinction of sect be permitted. Religious party-spirit *must be crushed*, if good is to be done.' (p. 255.) 'Let party-spirit be forgotten. But let there be one restriction; that the teachers be members of the Established Church.' (p. 254.)

Q. Which Established Church; that of England or of Scotland?

A. It does not signify which, as 'no allusions to distinction of sect are to be allowed.'

Q. You left the West Indies, it is believed, eight years ago.

A. Yes, in 1825.

Q. And your volumes were prepared before 'the agitation of the West India question by the *present* Government,' and were on 'the point of publication with the special recommendation of an *influential body of men*.' (*Advert.*)

A. Yes, but 'the negotiation' unluckily went off; and I have been obliged to risk the publication on my own account.

Q. Have you any further remarks to offer?

A. I beg leave to repeat, that, 'should any one consider my statements to be contradictory to each other,' I cannot help it.

The witness is directed to withdraw.—And so much for Mrs. Carmichael, 'five years a resident in St. Vincent and Trinidad!' Such is the stuff that, with Quarterly Reviewers, passes for veracious authority!



Art. III. *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press; including the Lives of the Stephani; Notices of other contemporary Greek Printers of Paris; and various particulars of the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of their Times.* By the Rev. W. P. Greswell. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 844. Oxford, 1833.

**I**N our own times, the earliest English printers have had their names honoured, and their 'worthy deeds' celebrated, by their countrymen, in a manner which has afforded Bibliographers a large measure of the pleasure most in accordance with their pursuits and wishes. The institution of the Roxburgh Club, the rank and character of its members, and their proceedings, are well known testimonies to the merits of the distinguished individuals who introduced the art of printing into England. The value of the works, however, which they issued from their presses, is too inconsiderable to admit of their taking a place among the most eminent typographers to whom the literary part of the world will confess their highest obligations. "The History of Blanchardyn and the Princess Eglantyne," printed by W. Caxton, sold at the Duke of Roxburgh's sale for £216;—"The Boke of the Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalrie," by Caxton, which brought at the same sale £336;—"The Golden Legend, or the Lives of the Saints," by the same printer;—"The Boke of Good Manners," by Wynken de Worde;—"A Lytyll Treatise of the Horse, the Sheep, and Goos," by Wynken de Worde;—are precious gems to the modern collector; but, as monuments of the state of learning in Britain, at the close of the fifteenth century, they cannot be greatly estimated. Caxton printed, in 1481, "The Boke of Tulle of Olde age and Tullius his Book of Friendship, translated by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester;" and, at a somewhat later date, Terence, the Eclogues of Virgil, and Cicero's Offices, were printed at the first established presses of England. These were the only classical books issued by English printers in those times. It was not before 1543, that a Greek book was printed in this country. In that year, Cheke published, with a Latin version, two of Chrysostom's Homilies.

With the state of printing in England, its progress on the Continent during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, forms a remarkable contrast. From the date of the Mentz Bible, 1450, to the end of the sixteenth century, the number and variety of extensive and costly works issued from the presses of Italy, France, and Germany, were very great; and the learning and enterprising spirit of the printers are not less to be remarked, than are the productions by which their names have been transmitted. Among these, the Stephani hold high rank. They contributed most materially, not only to the diffusion and increase of literature, but to the advancement of religion. Con-

nected with the Reformers, they employed the art in which they had made distinguished proficiency, to aid the cause, the successes of which were working towards the deliverance of mankind from ignorance and the thralldom of superstition; and their services are worthy of our grateful remembrance as Protestants, not less than as scholars. Most of the early continental printers were scholars of distinguished reputation: the attainments of some of them were most remarkable, and their indefatigable assiduity and devotedness to the employments in which they laboured, almost peculiar to themselves. Mr. Greswell's volumes are principally a record of the Stephani; but they comprise accounts of Colinaeus, the Wechels, and other early typographers; and the literary and bibliographical details of the work, are accompanied with interesting sketches of the rise and progress of the Lutheran and Calvinian Reformations.

The honour of printing the first entirely Greek book, is claimed for Milan. Specimens of Greek printing are found in some of the early Latin books which issued from the press, such as the Lactantius of 1465, and the Aulus Gellius and Apuleius of 1469; but the first work in which Greek letters are used throughout, is, "*Lascares Grammatica Gr. Mediolani, ex recognitione Demetrii Cretensis, per Dionysium Paravisinum.*" Mr. Gresswell has not given the date of this rare volume, which is 1476, and of which, we remember, a copy was sold some years ago in London for £37. A Greek psalter was issued from the Milan press in 1481. Venice commenced Greek printing in 1486, when a Greek Psalter, and the *Batrachomyomachia* of Homer, were executed; the former by Alexander, the latter by Leonicus, both Cretans. Milan and Venice had thus taken the lead in this new department of typography. But in the year 1488, their productions were far surpassed by the publication of the works of Homer at Florence, in two volumes, folio. This splendid book, *Homeri Opera omnia, Græce*, on which bibliographers have lavished so many expressions of warm admiration, was conducted through the press by Demetrius Chalcondyles, at the expense of two Florentine citizens, and is described as 'an instance of art, starting as it were from its first rudiments into sudden and absolute perfection.' A copy of the second volume of this magnificent edition, on vellum, was purchased at the sale of Mr. Dent's library, in 1827, by Payne and Foss, for £142 16s. An edition of Isocrates, *Græce*, very beautifully executed, and exhibiting a text reputed to be remarkably pure and correct, was, under the care of Demetrius Chalcondyles, issued from the Milan press in 1493; and six years afterwards, the same city was distinguished for the earliest edition of Suidas, the price of which, as we learn from an amusing Greek dialogue between a bookseller and a student, prefixed to the work, and written by Stephanus



Niger, a native of Cremona, and disciple of Demetrius Chalcondyles, was three crowns.

‘In 1496, Florence produced the celebrated *editio primaria* of the works of Lucian, *Luciani Opera, Græce*; of which the printer's name is not specified. But amongst the most interesting typographical curiosities of these times, are certain antecedent impressions of Florence, anni 1494, which, under the direction of Joannes Lascaris, were executed *litteris capitalibus*. These were *Anthologia Græca*; *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, Gr.*; *Euripidis Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, et Andromacha, Gr.*; *Callimachi Hymni, Gr.*; *Gnomæ Monostichoi ex diversis poetis, et poematum Musæi, Gr.* six distinct impressions: the printer, Laurentius Francisci de Alopa, a Venetian: all bearing date in the same year, 1494.’ Vol. I. pp. 6, 7.

Whether these impressions were antecedent to the *Editio primaria* of Lucian, is at least questionable: that they all bear date in the same year, 1494, is certainly said in error. The *Gnomæ* is without date and note of place or printer's name. So are the Callimachus and the four tragedies of Euripides. The Apollonius Rhodius is dated at the end, Florence, 1496. These are all in capital letters, and, from the resemblance which they have in common, bibliographers assign them to the press of Alopa and the superintendence of Lascaris; but the manner in which they are described in the preceding paragraph, would convey incorrect information, and requires to be noticed as we have done. We may add, that the impressions enumerated amount to but five; the Musæus is annexed to the *Gnomæ Monostichæ*, on the reverse of the last leaf of which his poem commences. In 1830, Evans sold a copy of the Callimachus for £85; and at the same sale, the Euripides brought £36 15s.

‘To Joannes Lascaris the verification and introduction into use of GREEK CAPITALS are attributed: and it appears from these specimens, he thought it expedient that the whole text of each Greek poet, the *pars libri nobilior*, as Maisttaire expresses it, should be printed *litteris majusculis*, and the scholia or notes only in the smaller character. The fine capitals of Lascaris were, as we know, admitted into use by subsequent printers only so far as to distinguish proper names, and the commencement of poetic lines or verses; and, in some early editions of the Greek scholiasts upon Homer and Sophocles, to distinguish the whole words or passages of the poet commented on from those of the annotator.’ Vol. I. p. 7.

Aldus Manutius was not the first, but he was one of the most zealous and enterprising of the early printers of Greek books. His edition of Aristotle, 1495—1498, on account of its skilful execution, the learning which it displays, and the beauty of the volumes, has secured to his name a distinguished celebrity as an editor and printer. The Musæus quarto, *sine anno*, is believed to have been the first printed of the Aldine editions of the Greek



classics; which are generally without accompanying Latin versions, though, in the case of the Musæus, the translation of Marcus Musurus is inserted. Some of his works are so disposed as to allow the Latin to be entirely separated from the Greek text, or to be incorporated in the same volume with it; a mode of printing which was adopted by the Foulis family at Glasgow.

In 1507, the first Greek book was printed at Paris. This was a small elementary work containing a Greek alphabet, rules of pronunciation, and various *sententiæ et opuscula*. It was edited by Francis Tissard, a native of Amboise, who had received instruction in Greek from Demetrius Spartiata, and who, on his return to Paris from Italy, where he had cultivated classical literature, warmly exerted himself to promote the study of the Greek language. The printer was Ægidius or Giles Gourmont, who assumed the title of '*Primus Græcarum litterarum Parisiis Impressor.*' Gourmont's press was afterwards superintended by Aleander, the well known adversary of the Lutheran Reformation. Iodocus Badius Ascensius, who commenced his typographical career at Lyons, removed to Paris, and began to print there in 1498. The issues from his press were very numerous, including almost every important Latin classic. He was employed by the celebrated Gulielmus Budæus to execute the *editiones primariæ* of his learned works; of which the *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ*, fol. 1528, is distinguished for its accuracy and beauty. Badius's impressions of Greek books were but few. One of his daughters became the wife of Robert Stephens.

Gulielmus Budæus, who is probably the most distinguished of all self-educated scholars, and whose acquirements placed him so high amongst the most learned as to leave but few names in possession of so much celebrity, is very properly noticed by Mr. Greswell, in his account of the productions of Badius's press. He was a native of Paris, and was born in 1467, of an ancient and honourable family. A very superficial initiation in the Latin language, was all the advantage that he acquired from the schools of Paris; and his subsequent study of the civil law at Orleans was but to little purpose. On his return home, he was for a time entirely negligent of literary improvement, but afterwards devoted himself to study with such excessive ardour and application as induced not only a disinclination to all pleasurable enjoyment, but a total disregard of health and natural rest. Without the direction of preceptors competent to guide him in the choice of authors and to regulate his studies, he read without discrimination, and with but little success. He found his error, and corrected it by studying only the most approved writers, particularly Cicero without note or comment; and by frequent retrospection and the comparing of passages, he made the authors, whose works he perused, their own expositors. 'By this method in a few years,

‘in private and without the aid of instructors, he acquired an extraordinary familiarity with the Latin classics, orators, poets, and historians.’ Intent on the acquisition of Greek literature, he procured at great expense the assistance of Georgius Hermonymus, who taught Greek at Paris about 1491, ‘*sed talis, ut neque potuisset docere, si voluisset; neque voluisset, si potuisset.*’ To this Professor, he owed but little obligation. He was more fortunate in obtaining the notice of a noble Greek of high character and attainments, Janus Lascaris, who rendered him the most essential services, and allowed him the use of his choicest books and manuscripts. Budæus was wholly absorbed in study, never suffering himself to be diverted from his learned pursuits by considerations of health, personal indulgence, domestic business, or any other care. ‘Whatever book he had taken up for perusal, no obscurity deterred him; no variety induced him to lay it aside, till he had arrived at the end of it.’ That such application must be at the cost, not only of many comforts, but of sacrifices the most valuable, we learn from such details as the following:

‘Such were his powers of memory, that what he had once learned or known, he never forgot: and he was sometimes observed to repeat long passages, which he had not read for many years, not only agreeably to the sense, but in the very words of their authors. By persevering in the systematic application before described, he is said to have perused all the writers of Greek and Roman antiquity; and to have acquired an extensive knowledge of all the sciences then held in estimation. But far from being ostentatious of his learning, he seemed rather studious to conceal it; and seldom opened the stores of his knowledge, unless when consulted, and at the request of his friends.

‘As Budæus thus appeared unremittingly devoted to study to the extreme hazard of his personal health, his father and his friends were frequent and urgent in their remonstrances, which however were unavailing. At length, therefore, the apprehended effects of excessive thought and application began to shew themselves. He lost his former spirits and cheerfulness, and became dejected and unsociable. His hair fell off, his countenance was pale, and his body emaciated: and a settled malady, of a species then novel and surprising to his physicians, but which was probably a hypochondria of the most distressing kind, tormented him at frequently-recurring periods for the space of twenty years. Alarming affections of the head, and a frequent sense of stupor and drowsiness, increased the catalogue of his infirmities, and proved the bitterest annoyance of his studious hours: to relieve which, his medical advisers vainly had recourse to severe measures, and even to cauterizing the integuments of the cranium with a hot iron. Yet, what is most surprising, we are assured that, in the midst of all these bodily sufferings, Budæus commenced, finished, and published his most elaborate works.’ Vol. I. pp. 48, 49.

Budæus lived in times of the greatest excitement (from 1467

to 1540), but took no public part in the great events and questions which so deeply interested and engaged most of his literary contemporaries. Superior erudition, especially Greek learning, was considered as an indication of heresy, and the spring of the dangers by which the Church was threatened; but the character of Budæus was never brought into suspicion, nor is there any reason for supposing that the religious innovations of his own age were at all pleasing to him. The Reformation owes much to Erasmus, but to Budæus it owes nothing.

‘His *Commentarii Linguae Græcæ* has been generally acknowledged as a production of immense erudition; and continues to possess the suffrages of the learned of our own fastidious times. Composed on a plan entirely novel and extraordinary, it diffusely exhibits the richness of the Greek tongue, and its affinity with the Latin; but is more especially adapted for the illustration of the Greek orators and forensic proceedings, and, in conjunction with them, of the Latin also.’ Vol. I. p. 50.

The *Commentarii L. G.* were highly appreciated by Professor Porson, who, we believe, entertained the design of preparing an abridgement of this work: a reduced arrangement of its contents would be a useful manual.

Of Henry Stephens, or Estienne, the founder of the illustrious family of printers commemorated in the volumes before us, the personal memorials are very scanty and uncertain. At what precise time he commenced his employment as a typographer, would seem to be a point which bibliographers have not been able to determine. He appears as one of the printers of the University of Paris in 1496. An impression of the *Ethica*, and some other treatises of Aristotle, in Latin, dated 1504, is subscribed, *per Henricum Stephanum in vico clausi Brunelli e regione scholæ decretorum*; and shews that he was then a separate printer. The productions of his press are not in general remarkably superior, in point of professional execution, to those of his contemporaries. He died in 1520.

Robert Stephens, the son of Henry, was born in the year 1503. He seems to have been indebted for his early opportunities of instruction in classical learning, to the place which he held in his father's establishment. In 1522, he became the assistant of Simon de Colines, or Colinaeus, who had married the widow of Henry, and had the direction of his father-in-law's press.

‘In this character, he superintended an impression of the *Novum Testamentum, Latine*, in 16mo; which was executed with great elegance and accuracy after the Vulgate translation, but with the addition of certain corrections by the juvenile editor. After the account given in our last section of the temper of these times, it will not appear surprising that this publication should have excited the jealousy of the Sorbonne divines, who were dissatisfied both with such



an attempt to disseminate the sacred Scriptures, and with the freedom of Robert's corrections: and thus, even at this early age, he found himself involved in the suspicion of heresy. We have his own testimony to shew that the hostility of these divines, which pursued him through life, had its origin with this commencement of Robert's professional career. No sooner had the before-mentioned impression appeared, than they began to exclaim against him as a corrupter of the sacred text; declaring that those who presumed to print and vend such impressions of the Holy Scriptures, were deserving of capital punishment. Robert informs us that he endeavoured, but in vain, to justify his corrections by critical reasons and theological arguments. This was indeed only to aggravate the offence. They were not sparing of their invectives against his temerity, from the chair and the pulpit; but studiously avoided all personal discussions with him of a literary or controversial nature: and this cautious procedure, Robert imputed to a consciousness of their own incapacity and gross ignorance.'

Vol. I. pp. 190, 191.

These Sorbonne divines were most admirably qualified to be the guardians of the Church in the darkest ages. They condemned the proposition of Erasmus and Luther, that to burn heretics was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; and one of them is said to have declared, in a tone of self-gratulation, that, during a period of fifty years, he had not known what the term *New Testament* meant. Jacques le Fevre, the learned editor of the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, and one of the professors in the university of Paris, who had Calvin and Farrel among his scholars, published a tract *De tribus Magdalenis et de unica Magdalena*, in which he maintains that Mary, the sister of Martha and of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, out of whom Jesus cast seven demons, and the "woman that was a sinner", were all distinct persons. This was no novel opinion, the Greek fathers having given the same interpretation to the passages in which they are mentioned. But the Latin fathers will have them to be the same; and the Sorbonne doctors, adopting their sentiments, denounced the other opinion as a heresy, and would have burned Le Fevre for asserting it, if he had not been protected by Francis I., who held his learning and his merits in high estimation. It is not easy to imagine the vexatious annoyance which the interference of a body so remarkable for their stupidity and bigotry must have occasioned to an enlightened and liberal printer like Robert Stephens, who was furnishing the means of knowledge, and stimulating the inquiries of his contemporaries by the numerous issues of the sacred Scriptures which proceeded from his press.

In 1525, Robert Stephens commenced his impressions with an edition of *Apuleii liber de deo Socratis*, 8vo.; and in the following year, he printed *Ciceronis Epistolæ ad familiares*, 8vo. From that period till his retirement from Paris in 1552, 'the productions of his press were multiplied with increasing enterprise,

'activity and perfection.' Among these were, the *Latinæ Linguae Thesaurus*, the *Biblia Sacra*, *Ciceronis Opera*, and numerous other works, of which a description will be found in these volumes. Some of these provoked anew the hostility of the Sorbonne divines, who continued their implacable persecution against him. In 1540, he was honoured with the title of *TYPOGRAPHUS REGIUS IN GRÆCIS*; and, by his exertions, Greek printing was advanced to a superiority of technical beauty and excellence, which all historians of the press have united in celebrating. His Greek impressions were of great variety and extent, among which, the magnificent *NOVUM TESTAMENTUM*, Græce, 1550, folio, is particularly distinguished. The figure which this splendid volume makes in the criticism of the Greek Testament, on account of its relation to the *Textus Receptus*, and the marginal references to MSS. which it exhibits respecting the reading of 1 John v. 7., is well known. Mr. Greswell devotes some pages to the vindication of Stephens from the charges directed against him by Porson, and refers to accident or the learned printer's error, the misplacing of the semicircle, which, in its present position, has been the occasion of so much discussion. This impression of the Greek New Testament was very offensive to the Sorbonne divines, whose virulent opposition involved Stephens in very vexatious troubles, from which he sought and found refuge by removing to Geneva, where he carried on his typographical employments till the period of his death in 1559.

Thuanus has bestowed the highest praises on this most eminent printer, and asserts, that more real lustre and glory were reflected upon the reign of Francis I. by the genius and exertions of this single individual, than by all that monarch's achievements, whether in peace or in war. Robert Stephens well merits a place among those distinguished men who contributed to the establishment of Protestant principles, by exciting attention to the genuine Scriptures, and enlarging the circulation of them. His numerous editions of the Bible and of the New Testament, at a time, when the fiercest opposition was directed against those who disseminated them, rendered him a most efficient coadjutor of the Reformers. It is to these men that we should be found rendering honour. The achievements of the sword have recollections attending them, which we may well exchange for those which are awakened by the pen and the press; and we may cherish the hope, that the opinions and proceedings of a civilized people will, in future, be more in consonance with the dictates of wisdom, and with the justice due to the memories of the best benefactors of mankind, than they are at present.

Henry Stephens, son of the first Robert Stephens, was born at Paris, in the year 1528. From a very early period of life, he was passionately devoted to the study of the Greek language,

which, contrary to the prevailing practice, he learned previously to the Latin. His education was conducted with all the advantages which could be derived from the erudition and vigilance of his celebrated parent. He became a pupil of the Greek professor, Petrus Danesius, and, at the age of seventeen, attended the public lectures of Jacobus Tusanus, and subsequently those of Adrianus Turnebus. He attained great excellence in calligraphy, and was distinguished for the beauty of his Greek characters. In the year 1546, according to Maittaire, Henry was associated with his father in his typographical labours, for whose impressions of Dionysius Halicarnasensis, and the '*O mirificam*' New Testament, he collated the MSS. of the royal library. The death of Francis I. was an inauspicious event to the family of Stephens; and, in 1547, Henry set out on his travels, to explore the literary treasures of other countries. He spent three years and a half in visiting the different cities of Italy, and was particularly interested in the employments which he found at Rome, Florence, and Naples. At Padua, he enjoyed a literary intercourse with Jean Bellevre, ambassador of the French king to the Swiss cantons, and formed an acquaintance with Robortellus and Dionysius Lambinus. At Venice, he became acquainted with Muretus, and, after visiting Genoa, returned home in 1549. In the following year he was in England, which he left in 1551, with an intention of returning through Flanders and Brabant; and in the close of the year he again reached Paris. The Protestantism of Henry Stephens is not questioned. Whether he accompanied his father to Geneva, is uncertain. In commencing his printing establishment at Paris, he does not appear to have been annoyed by any vexatious opposition, either from the Sorbonne, or any of the other enemies of his father.

In the twenty-sixth year of his age, 1554, Henry Stephens published the *Editio Princeps* of Anacreon, Gr. et Lat. 4to.; 'one of the most finished and beautiful of all his impressions.' In the close of the same year, he revisited Italy, and examined the libraries of Venice; and soon after his return to Paris in 1556, he resumed his typographical operations, which he continued with unabated ardour through a long succession of years. For an account of these, we must refer to the volumes before us. His residence was divided between Paris and Geneva; the most important of his impressions relating to classical and general literature being executed in the French metropolis, and those of a theological kind in the latter city.

'Few ever experienced more vicissitudes in the literary walks of life, or more discouraging reverses of fortune. Perhaps no individual scholar ever rendered greater services to literature; yet none ever found his own erudition turn to less account. Henry Estienne might justly be numbered "*inter litteratorum infelicissimos*." He moved oc-



asionally in the train and splendours of courts: he lived in intimacy with the rich and the great: yet poverty was his prevailing lot. "*Aliis recludit thesauros; sibi ipsi, pro thesauro carbones reperit.*" When we consider the interruptions, difficulties, and discouragements, with which he was almost constantly compelled to struggle, our admiration of his patience and perseverance, and our astonishment at the number and magnitude of his literary achievements, must be proportionably increased.' Vol. II. pp. 368, 369.

It is melancholy to relate, that this enterprising and erudite printer, at the age of seventy years, and suffering at once under an entire decay both of external fortunes and of mental powers, finished his mortal career at Lyons, in an hospital of that city, in the year 1598.

There are some literary works which will ever be regarded with astonishment at the indomitable courage and perseverance of their authors, and with admiration at the immensity of the learning which they display. Of this description is the '*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae, ab Henrico Stephano constructus,*' published in 1572. Only the most enthusiastic zeal for the advancement of Greek literature could have induced Henry Stephens to have projected and executed a work of such magnitude, in the completion of which so many difficulties were to be overcome. It was suggested to him by the '*Thesaurus Latinæ Linguae*' of his father. In its preparation and printing, he laboured with invincible patience, almost exhausting, as he informs us, the whole of his slender means, before the work was brought to its conclusion. Not long after it was issued from the press, its sale was materially obstructed by the publication of Scapula's '*Lexicon Græco-Latinum*'; and Henry Stephens was thus defrauded and mortified by the appearance of a work which was essentially an abridgement of his own invaluable volume. Of Scapula himself scarcely any thing is known. In his epistle to the Senators of Berne, prefixed to his Lexicon, he mentions that he had received his earliest education at Lausanne, and, at the time of his contemplating the publication of his work, was discharging some public literary function there under the patronage of the senate. From these circumstances the Author of the volumes before us concludes, that he belonged to the Reformed persuasion. The Epistle contains some passages which appear to us decisive on this point:—'*vos Deus opt. max. ex densa errorum et superstitionum caligine ad apertam verbi sui lucem evocare dignatus est.*'—Such language as this could have proceeded only from one of the Reformed.

'Uniform tradition asserts, that he had been for some time employed in the printing-office of H. Stephanus; not perhaps in the mere mechanical department, but probably as a corrector; and that as the sheets of the *Thesaurus Græcus* were printed off, he surrepti-

tiously compiled his own abridgement, extracting more particularly such parts as were most upon a level with the capacities of young students. Thus Scapula is said to have formed his well-known *Lexicon Græco-Latinum*; which, according to the general opinion of the learned, first appeared *anno* 1579. The date indeed annexed to the Dedicatory Epistle of that Lexicon, in its first impression, is said to be 1570; which would imply that it was anterior to the *Thesaurus* itself: but as no reason can be assigned for deliberate falsification in this particular, it must be considered as an error of the press, 1570, for 1579. The most modern editions of Scapula omit the epistle or address, "*Senatoribus inclytæ Bernatæ reipubl.;*" but in an impression, *Aureliæ Allobr.* 1609, the time and place of its composition are thus remarkably specified: *Basileæ, octavo Kalend. Decemb. M.D.LXXIX. quo anno Bernensi Scholæ coronide imposita, Lausannensis Gymnasii fundamenta jacta sunt, &c.*—Vol. II. pp. 282, 3.

The Lexicon of Scapula was first published in 1580. A copy of the original edition is now before us; *Basileæ Ex Officina Hervagiana per Eusebium Scopium. Anno Salutis MDXXC.* To this, the Epistle is prefixed, addressed to the Senators of Berne, concluding with the date and note of time as quoted in the preceding extract from the impression of 1609. In the address which follows, '*Lectoribus Græcæ Linguae Studiosis,*' Scapula claims the merit of originality for his work, and describes the plan of it as being the result of his own reflection and judgement. To this preface Mr. Greswell refers, in some strictures on Scapula's injurious treatment of H. Stephens, in audaciously disputing with him the glory 'of the invention,' by which, in the *Thesaurus*, the celebrated printer had arranged the words of the Greek language after a new method. On the reverse of the title-page of the first edition of Scapula's Lexicon, there are some curious verses, in which the claim of novelty is very boldly urged. They are as follows.

' *IOAN. SC. lectori.*

*Momus ait nihil esse novi dare lexica : verum  
 Hoc ego contendo lexicon esse novum.  
 Esse novum nihil est, inquit, nisi conferat : atqui  
 Non caret hæc novitas utilitate sua.  
 Quæ prius hic illic variè dispersa iacebant,  
 Hic sunt ad proprium cuncta reducta locum.  
 Hic vocis sedes defertur prima parenti,  
 Quam certo soboles ordine subsequitur.  
 Hic multa à nullis tractata prioribus insunt,  
 Fertilis ex doctis Hellados hausta libris.  
 Nil igitur temere statuas : sed perspice, lector,  
 Maturo expedens singula iudicio.  
 Tum si quod studiis opus afferat hocce levamen,  
 Faverit optatis aura secunda meis.  
 Si minùs id prosit, sequere utiliora docentem :  
 Ingenii vires quod potuere, dedi.'*



Dr. Busby, it is said, from a strong feeling of indignation against the literary dishonesty of Scapula, actually forbade his scholars the use of his Lexicon. His plagiarism may be condemned by us without our proscribing the use of a work which has obtained the approbation of so many of the learned, and compared with the cost of which, the purchase of the Thesaurus is prohibitory of its acquisition to many, who may derive from the former the most substantial advantages. It should not be forgotten, that Scapula's work was not sent into the markets of literature immediately on the publication of Stephens's, as a rival to it: eight years intervened between the two publications, and this was a considerable interval, during the whole of which the value of the Thesaurus was not depreciated by any condensation of its contents. We may take the present occasion to notice the beautiful and excellent edition of Scapula, printed at the Clarendon press, and which, like so many of the works issued from it, is most creditable to the parties who directed and superintended its publication.

It has been much questioned, whether the copies of Stephens's Greek Thesaurus are all of one edition; and many have been of opinion, that what was ostensibly a second edition, was in reality nothing more than a renewed issue of the original work, with some changes in the title and preface. Krohn, however, appears to have set this question at rest, and to have proved that the work was actually reprinted, in the second instance, without a date, though, as he determines, previously to the year 1591.

It is well known that an edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae* was lately published in this country from the press of Mr. Valpy. From the first announcement of the intention of the projectors of this new impression, to reprint the work in a form and with improvements suitable to the era of its modern publication, they received every encouragement from the cultivators of Greek learning; and the ample patronage which was extended to the undertaking, shewed that the proposal of those who had taken it into their hands was well timed. The subscription was altogether unprecedented. For a work of such magnitude and of such a description, no fewer than one thousand and eighty-six names were obtained, and about one hundred of these were those of subscribers for large paper copies. The small paper subscription was one guinea for each part, and for the large paper copies, two guineas. The original proposals announced that the work would be completed in twenty-four or twenty-five parts, and in the course of four or five years. The prospectus, we believe, was issued in 1809 or 1810. The first part of the work was not published till March 1816, and the last part was issued in December 1828. But, instead of twenty-four or twenty-five parts, it was extended to thirty-nine. About twenty years were



in this manner occupied in the preparation and in the printing of the new edition of the *Thesaurus*;—an ample space, we should suppose, for even such a republication as the one in question, with all the additions and improvements intended to be introduced into the work. A fair occasion was furnished to the Editors, by having in their hands an undertaking of this magnitude and character, of obtaining reputation for themselves, and of doing honour to their age and country. It will not, however, we believe, be generally acknowledged, that they have entitled themselves to the approbation of their subscribers and the public by the manner in which they have executed this literary enterprise. The extensive additions made to Stephens's volumes supply very abundant testimonies to the industry of the Compilers, and shew how successfully the inquiries of the Editors, in respect to the materials necessary for the enlargement of the *Thesaurus*, have been answered. An immense accumulation of matter has been obtained, and the original work has by this means been very considerably augmented. The proper use of the materials prepared for a work of this kind, is, however, in respect to its literary and philological advantages, of more importance than the mere quantity of them. From the editors of a republication of the *Greek Thesaurus* of Henry Stephens, intended to correspond to the expectations of scholars in the present advanced state of literature, we look for higher qualifications than mere industry,—for the faculty which shall manifest itself in nice and needful selection, in correct discrimination, and in luminous and judicious arrangement. With these qualities, the Editors of Stephens do not appear to have been highly gifted; and the work which they have issued as an *Improved Greek Thesaurus*, comes far short of the excellence which it ought to exhibit, and which the funds contributed towards its completion, as well as the time occupied in its preparation and progress, should have ensured. It is much to be regretted, that the execution of the work is not more worthy of the several announcements which gave promise, that the long cherished wishes of all who cultivate Greek learning were about to be accomplished, in their being presented with the *Greek Thesaurus* of Henry Stephens, in an improved edition, honourable to the projectors, and invaluable to themselves; since there can scarcely be even a remote probability of another attempt to engage the patronage of scholars for a series of volumes so large and costly. \*

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\* We will avail ourselves of the present occasion, to refer to Mr. Valpy's edition of the *Delphin Classics* with *Variorum Notes*. The prospectus announcing the publication of this undertaking stated, that it would comprise 130 parts at £1 1s. each part to subscribers, and that the work could not be subscribed for in separate parts or authors,

To those who take pleasure in the perusal of literary history, to professed scholars and critics, and to the collectors of rare and primary Greek impressions, Mr. Greswell's volumes will furnish both instruction and abundant gratification. The interest and utility of them are much increased by the concise, but clear and correct sketches which he has introduced, of the civil and religious transactions of the periods which they include. Mr. Greswell's qualifications for the work which he has thus ably executed, are well known; and we are happy in testifying not only to the merits of the work, but also to the candour and uprightness of the Author.

In the account of Postel, (Vol. I. p. 155.) that scholar is said to have 'first brought into Europe the Syriac version of the New Testament.' This ancient Translation (the Peshito) was originally brought into Europe by Moses of Mardin, and was edited by Widmanstad, assisted by Postel.

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but only as a whole collection. The following note is appended to the prospectus. 'As some gentlemen have not yet sent in their names as subscribers, on the supposition that the work will hereafter be offered for sale at a lower price, Mr. Valpy begs to state, that, to prevent such depreciation, he has printed but very few copies over the present Subscription (971 large and small).' That the work is now accessible to purchasers on much easier terms, and can readily be obtained, any one may ascertain for himself, who will look into a bookseller's catalogue. We know that the entire series of volumes, or a selection of any Authors, at the option of the buyer, may be had for less than *one-fourth* of the original cost. It is notorious too, that a very considerable number of copies is on sale. It is, we think, important that the attention of those who patronize large and expensive works should be directed to cases like the present. It is the original subscribers to a work who enable a publisher to prepare and issue it; and they should certainly be saved the mortification of seeing the set of books for which they have paid a liberal price, common in the market at a greatly reduced valuation. It cannot certainly be otherwise than vexatious to a subscriber to this republication of the Delphin Classics with *Variorum* notes, to learn that his friend or his neighbour has purchased for less than thirty pounds, precisely the same books for which he gave *one hundred and thirty*!—and that any Authors included in a collection may be bought separately, which he could not obtain as a subscriber, without buying the entire series. We do not, in these representations, do more than state facts; but the inquiries which they suggest, are important in reference to the interests of learning.



Art. IV. *Sermons* by the Rev. Richard Winter Hamilton. 8vo. pp. 590. London, 1833.

WE are not among the number of those critics Mr. Hamilton refers to in his Advertisement, with whom style is every thing. There are some preachers and writers whose style we think essentially faulty, formed on a bad model, or deformed by vicious taste, yet to whom we cannot deny a high merit which redeems their faults, and makes them dangerous by the lustre which it throws over them. Dr. Chalmers is a preacher of this class: his style is peculiarly his own, and, being native and vigorous, it answers well as the vehicle of his singularly vehement eloquence. But it cannot be necessary to point out, how insufferable would be the faults of his style in an imitator. Mr. Irving's florid modern-Gothic style, notwithstanding the palpable affectation which disfigured it, was in like manner rendered subservient to a powerful impression, till the orator became lost in the fanatic. The style of a person's composition is often very much the result and reflection of his mental temperament. Strength united to impetuosity displays itself sometimes in a lawless force of expression, which commands, rather than pleases; while the not unfrequent combination of warmth of feeling and energy of character with mental indolence, may be detected in the fitful inequalities of style, the mixture of strength and weakness, by which another writer is characterized. A tinge of pedantry (often mistaken for affectation) is the natural result of vanity; while an affected style is rather the result of ambitious effort, and may be equally unconnected with an artificial character. A vehement dislike of the tame and common-place is extremely likely to lead a young writer into the opposite fault of grandiloquence. And there are some writers who may be compared to performers who, not being well taught at first, continue, after they have acquired the art of playing with effect, to finger badly. But, whatever be the faults of style and manner with which a preacher or writer is chargeable, it is in his power to render them so subordinate to the matter, and purport, and aim of his composition, as to render criticism a cold and unseasonable impertinence.

When a young aspirant after literary honours, yet in the first efflorescence of juvenile vanity, prints his maiden production, the Critic has a stern duty to perform, which may seem as unkind as the wind that strips the trees in spring of the false blossom. It is then, if ever, that criticism is useful. But, when years have fixed the taste and naturalized the manner of a writer, whatever were his original faults, it is, we are well persuaded, nearly as useless as it is invidious to blazon them.

Should these remarks appear inapplicable to the subject in hand, we must throw the blame upon Mr. Hamilton, who, anticipating that his *style* will be, as usual, severely attacked, should



'criticism deign a notice,' scarcely does justice either to himself or to the critics he seems to fear. We had never the pleasure of hearing him from the pulpit; but we have always understood him to be a very effective and powerful preacher, of which these Sermons contain, indeed, sufficient evidence. Nineteen years spent in the honourable discharge of the pastoral office in one place, give a title to higher respect than all the graces of composition could win from us as critics; and we know not why Mr. Hamilton should have indulged in the sarcasm veiled under the declaration, that he will still 'stoop, if the censor be of a sufficient order of intellect to warrant a jest and sneer.' The nature of the themes he has chosen, would preclude a jest, as much as the talents he possesses, would raise him above a sneer.

Were we to say that the style of these Sermons is their distinguishing recommendation, we should say what is not true, and what, if true, would be but a poor compliment. Mr. Hamilton's style is certainly more nervous than graceful, more oratorical than accurate\*, more copious than select. It bears the stamp also of a certain mannerism, which, whether the manner be good or bad, is a fault. But, having said thus much, we shall not expend a word more in verbal criticism; but proceed at once to notice the more substantial qualities of the volume.

The Sermons are eleven in number: as the volume extends to nearly 600 pages, it will be inferred that they are of very unusual length. We do not consider this as a fault in compositions prepared for the press; and we take it for granted that each of these sermons embodies the matter of several as originally delivered. The subjects are as follows.

I. The Inviolability of Christianity, Gal. i. 8. II. The Counsel of Gamaliel examined, Acts v. 38, 39. III. Moral Means preferable to Miracle, Luke xvi. 31. IV. The transcendent Love of Christ, Eph. iii. 19. V. Incarnate Deity, Phil. ii. 5, 8. VI. The Atonement, John i. 29. VII. The Christian Doctrine of Divine Grace, Rom. xi. 6. VIII. The Son of God anticipating his Reward, Heb. x. 13. IX. The Heavenly Country, Heb. xi. 6. X. Deism no Refuge from Judgement, Rom. iii. 6. XI. Jesus Christ Creator and Lord of the Universe, Col. i. 16.'

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\* Sometimes it is not easy to determine whether the inaccuracy is typographical or not: *ex. gr.* 'Men who affect their desire of miracle.' (p. 113.) Men may affect a desire, or may assert their desire. To inspire a zest (p. viii.) is, perhaps, a mistake for, impart a zest. The following sentence is too elliptical to be intelligible: (p. 517.) 'The concession of such a Being is inconsistent without a moral character, and his moral character is inconsistent without an assent to Christianity.' 'Substitutionary concert,' (p. 349.) is a phrase bordering on enigma.

It will be seen that most of the subjects are such as are involved in the controversy with the Unitarians, and the sermons may be characterized as mainly argumentative. Mr. Hamilton has shewn himself, not only in this volume, but elsewhere, a zealous champion and a powerful advocate of the truth. If not always a very close logician, he is a skilful and formidable polemic, and he wields with peculiar force the weapons of caustic rebuke and sarcasm. Yet, these sermons are by no means of a dry polemical cast. On the contrary, they abound with admirable statements and forcible appeals, adapted to enforce, as well as to vindicate the great doctrines of Christianity. The Author will, however, be thought, by the majority of his admirers, most at home in dealing with the opponent and the sceptic. In the following passage, taken from the first sermon, the Preacher with great force maintains the inference deducible from the apostolic protest, Gal. i. 8, that 'the import and construction of the Gospel cannot be vague and indeterminate.'

'It cannot be reasonably doubted, that the first Christians, whatever were their "differences of administrations and diversities of operations," had a "like precious faith," and a "common salvation." They coincided in "the first principles of the oracles of God," in "the principles of the doctrine of Christ." They "obeyed, from the heart, that form of doctrine which was delivered them." "The form of sound words" was inculcated with the precision of a lesson, and the authority of a law. The characteristic of the Gospel was alleged to be its *truth*. This was, to the sophists of that era, a strange and novel pretension. To require faith to a testimony, only so far as conformable to fact, only so far as supported by evidence, appeared to them a startling affectation. Yet, this was the tone which the primeval disciples assumed; and as *history proved* what religion hallowed, we need not wonder at their port of magnanimity and valour. "They could do nothing against the truth, but for the truth." Hence their belief was definite and avowed. Neither did confusion cloud their judgement, nor strife divide their interpretation, nor suspicion canker their "singleness of heart." "Sound and good doctrine" they opposed to "fables;" "love of the truth" united them; they were encouraged to come to "the knowledge," and bidden to "the acknowledging," "of the truth." With this the Apostles were "put in trust;" they were "stewards of the mysteries of God." Their power was ample; they "were teachers in faith and verity." They wore the manner of conviction the most entire and unshrinking, and justified their followers in its adoption. The language current among them was, "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day." "Hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before Him." This was no conjecture, but assurance; no faltering, but infallibility. So "established, strengthened, and settled" were they, so "rooted and built up," borrowing the description from the tenacity of the root and strength of the building, that the



language of the text would neither sound profane nor even forcible: it struck in with so unhesitating a sentiment, so strong a vow. They consequently affixed particular significations to what they called "the present truth," and would not brandish the curse to defend what was equivocal in its nature, or interminable in its controversy. The Gospel called up a certain set of ideas, a particular class of propositions, in their minds—they had "the full assurance of understanding and of faith"—they "understood what they said and whereof they affirmed."

'But such statements are frequently contested in our times. It is denied that there was uniformity of opinion, that Christianity is dogmatic, that the Saviour dictated a particular creed, that the Apostles were authorized to propound one. The following disclaimer is employed as a general abandonment of all such claim, "Not for that we have dominion over your faith." But though the first sight and sound of this language might seem to leave them to any latitude of principle or interpretation, the slightest inspection of the context, and the absurdity of the contrary supposition, will refute the gloss. Paul disavows all use of tyrannic power through the means or by the circumstances, of their religious profession: he will abstain from all such stretch of his influence, and abuse of their confidence: but he subjoins what denotes any thing rather than a license for the indifference of sentiment, "For by faith ye stand." "The foundation of the Apostles" was one of inspired teaching and ordinance, not that of the sinner's dependence for acceptance: and their foundation was held together by "Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." They were commissioned to "teach all nations,"—they were "set for the defence of the Gospel,"—they were the accredited representatives and organs of the ascended Messiah,—they were filled with the spirit of his mission and knowledge of his will,—they were in "his stead,"—and spoke and wrote with that awful impress and emphasis which He imparted to them when about to leave them: "As my Father has sent Me, even so send I you!"

'In the fixed character, we recognize the true perfection, of the Gospel. It is the same through all ages, not changing to every touch, and varying beneath every eye—but unfolding the same features, and producing the same effects. It is a system of particular tenets—these, it is important to recollect, are *truths*, and partake of the necessary unchangeableness of all which can boast this designation. The evidences of truth may differ, but it cannot be more or less than truth. "The word of the truth of the Gospel" has the same strict meaning, the same express design, as of old: and he who adds to it, or takes away from it, offers it an equal indignity, and does it an equal wrong.

'Amidst the conflicts of opinion, rife and strenuous as they are in modern days, it is an anxious inquiry, a solemn problem, *are we right?* Do we "know the truth?" The anathema which is prefixed to this Discourse, never could have been uttered unless the Gospel had been limited to a distinct meaning, had been susceptible of a certain interpretation. How important that we escape it by renouncing "any other Gospel!"

'How shall we know when we have attained to a just apprehension of "the faith once delivered to the saints?" It will be easy to charge



us with arrogance: it will be foolish in us to shrink from the accusation.

'Is the Gospel "worthy of our acceptance?" Is it sufficiently clear and perspicuous to be conceived? We would avoid all naked and unprotected assertions, but maintain that a believing knowledge of it may be acquired, that such a perception should be allowed a place in the mind, to the exclusion of all distracting doubt and misgiving; and that we are warranted in resting these immoveable conclusions on the laws of moral certainty.

'We do not make light of *scriptural investigation*. This is the basis and index of all genuine belief. We possess a divine revelation. When it is the part of science to anticipate the facts of Nature and bend them to its preconceived theory, then may it be wise and legitimate to forecast what such revelation should contain, and to measure it by that self-formed standard. The inductive principle, which is our familiar boast, is often reversed when the sacred volume is the subject. Men of any thought see indeed, the dilemma of inconsistency into which an open violation of it would sink them—but mixing the rules of inquiry with the business of *internal evidence*, they set their assumptions against the plainest dictates and soundest criticisms. All they do is prompted by their care of the divine character, and their reverence for the divine code, which otherwise would be left profanely compromised and cruelly exposed! We, however, do not fear but that God "will have pity on his holy name," and cannot suppose that he will "disgrace the throne of his glory." We do not presume to be more tenderly jealous of his honour than himself. And taking with us "the Scriptures which are able to make wise unto salvation," we embrace all their inferences as well as facts, doctrines as well as testimonies—relying on the veracity, committed to the scope, and abiding by the conclusions, of the whole. "What saith the Scripture?" is our only demand; what it saith is our only criterion.' pp. 9—14.

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'There is another spirit at work among us. It can inculcate a due firmness of erroneous opinion, it only condemns as rude and dictatorial, the adoption and retention of opposite sentiment. It is charitable, in its own favoured phrase, towards all the doubting and unconvinced; it can show favour to the honest infidel, however impetuous and professed. Its contempt is reserved for those who, having with certainly no less honesty read the word of God and searched the Scriptures "whether these things are so," maintain their most cautious impression, and uphold their most deliberate judgement. This contempt would fall strangely upon those who are celebrated for continuing in "the Apostles' doctrine:" and it might invert itself and become apology for those whom the same record condemns. Might it not advance in extenuation of those who "were ever learning and never coming to the knowledge of the truth," that they were unfettered by prejudice, and still prosecuting inquiry? and offer in exculpation of "unstable souls," that they were only seeking truth wherever it could be found, keeping their minds open and their studies unpledged, ready to obey all possible convictions?

‘ But the “ truth as it is in Jesus,” is contained in that Word which is *truth itself*: there is laid up as in a casket and hallowed as in a shrine. No change can pass upon it. It bears the character of its first perfection. It is the wisdom of God and the power of God. Like the manna and the rod in the recess of the ark, it is the incorruptible bread of heaven, it is the ever-living instrument of might, without an altered form or superseded virtue. “ He who runneth may read.” Nothing but clouds of unholy passion or of mental vanity can obscure it. It is only impervious to the “ desires of the *flesh* or of the *mind*.” “ If our Gospel be hid, it is hid to them who are lost.” And such is its simplicity when men read it as learners and receive it as sinners — that we can dare a contradiction to its plain interpretation, and feel that if “ an angel from heaven ” were so to belie it—torturing it by sophistry, annulling it by conjecture, and recasting it by prejudgment, he should suffer the “ curse ” which dreadfully guards our faith from every violation.’ pp. 21—22.

Having shewn that, if this first proposition is true, the Gospel cannot be set aside by any *new interpretation*, the Preacher proceeds to establish the positions, that it cannot be set aside ‘ by ‘ any *counter-argument*,’—‘ by any *better substitution*,’—‘ by ‘ any *Divine appendage*,’—or, lastly, by any successful *opposition*. The sermon closes in a very animated and glowing strain of eloquence.

‘ It is observable with what intense complacency and delight the being is regarded by the moral universe, who is engaged in the promotion of Christianity. Honours surround him, welcomes pursue him, and a chorus of benedictions bursts upon his head: “ How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace ! ” But if its herald be thus honoured and greeted, however mean in himself, as loathed is its adversary however mighty. And did an angel, though he could “ set his right foot on the sea and his left on the earth,” preach any other Gospel, the curse of heaven and earth should scathe him, and he should “ be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit ! ”—But oh, ye blessed ministering spirits, to whom such an act is most alien and averse, we do not dread, we cannot depreciate, your interference ! By all your loyalty to truth, by all your fervour of benevolence, ye could not do it ! Ye are gathered together with us in Christ ! Ye sing in concord with the redeemed from among men ! We will not wrong, by such a doubt, natures so pure, beings so kind ; while we feel that the argumentative supposition, by its tremendous force and glaring impossibility, only more plainly assumes, and strongly establishes, how perfectly ye must be abhorrent of the treason, and incapable of the blasphemy !

‘ And these contemplations tend to impress us with the purposes of Jehovah, amidst all the fluctuating scenes of time. It is the Gospel which gives them their meaning. Insulated from this, they pass without coherence, and are laid without plan ; they are convertible to no use, and descriptive of no moral. But the Divine purpose thus ex-

plains itself. By the light it casts upon them, innumerable events become manifestly uniform and consistent. The end of all things is to perpetuate and diffuse the only remedy for human guilt and sorrow. But for this, our history would be no more drawn out, and our planet cease to roll. This is the cause of Him who hath "the government on his shoulder;" and to this trust there is universal subordination. And he hushes and binds the elements, speaks the calm, commands the pause, and in it the voice of mercy may be heard, the appeal to sensibility may be urged, "Be ye reconciled unto God." The dispensation of the Gospel—with all the state of a *reign*, the munificence of a *gift*, the fidelity of a *testimony*, the sureness of a *promise*—stretches itself out to the utmost limit of mortal interests. It shall endure co-ally with man. Every breath we draw, every moment we exist, every step we take, is beneath this dispensation of grace. To us it calls, every where it finds a voice, and it shall accent the "last syllable of recorded time." To give it an ampler theatre, all nations shall be subdued unto it; and the ages are held back that it may obtain a longer opportunity. The final convulsion is arrested—the Father, who hath "put the times and seasons in his own power," checks their flight; the Saviour, "expecting until all his enemies become his footstool," is content to wait: and the "souls under the altar" refrain their importunity, and rejoice in the delay. Its trumpet of jubilee shall never be silenced, save by the trumpet of judgment: its light shall never fade, but in the embers of the last conflagration; its "joyful sound" shall never die, except in the uproar and crash of dissolving worlds; its "lively hope" shall only be buried in the grave, and under the wreck, of the universe. All things must be destroyed ere it lose its power or abdicate its claim. The massive architecture of the heaven and the earth takes it into their date, and suspends it on their durability. It lasts while they can last. It only ceases when the mountain sinks, when the ocean dries, when the poles refuse to turn, when the skies shrivel up like a burning scroll—when "heaven and earth shall flee away!" And even then its dispensative form alone is affected—its principles are invariable and indestructible—are of "the things which cannot be shaken"—and shall expand through a still more congenial medium and worthy economy, whose sphere is "in the highest," whose glory is "in light," and whose consummation is "God all in all!" Feeble are our present thoughts, confused our perceptions; we see every thing as from behind a cloud and in a disproportion. Our convictions are more like conjectures, and our speculations, dreams. We "know in part" and therefore perplexedly. Our conceptions are infantile, and as infantile as our minds. But we shall soon emerge from this state of crude fancies and immature ideas. Worthy sentiments and feelings will fill up our souls. Each view shall be as a ray of light striking its object, and each song be the very echo of its theme. Then shall we adequately understand why Apostles kindled into indignation, and shook with horror, at the idea of "another Gospel;" and why even Angels themselves must have been accursed had it been possible for them to have divulged it!

' "The word of the Lord endureth for ever. And this is the word which by the Gospel is preached unto you." Amen.' pp. 51—54.



'The Atonement' is the title and subject of the longest and most elaborate discourse in the volume, occupying nearly 80 pages, and containing some splendid passages. We pass it over, however, to select from the ensuing discourse on the Christian doctrine of Divine Grace, a characteristic specimen of the Preacher's powers when the occasion affords scope for his powers of irony.

'The more ignorant and audacious contention, that human actions can literally challenge and deserve approval and favourable recompense,—that they can, though the agents are utterly depraved, be the subjects of merit,—when thus boldly declared and contumaciously urged,—is generally discarded. Against this more stupid avowal and wanton bravado of error and self-righteousness, we are not often cited to appear. The hostility is more subtle, more evasive; the wolf wears the sheep's clothing; Satan is transformed into an angel of light;—it is not the analysis of the substance, but the detection of the enemy!—But they who oppose the doctrine of the atonement, have been incited to allege an incompatibility between it and the grace for which we plead. With considerable adroitness, they present themselves as champions of the free favour which contemplates sinful man, at the same moment in which they despise the great expedient by which it only can be justly revealed, and consistently sustained.

'Hateful hypocrisy! Whence this unwonted part, this sudden zeal? Where is the braggart morality of the philosopher and worldling now? How is it that the boast of merit and the urgency of claim no longer swell on high? Strange proselytism and marvellous transformation! They are guided only in their blasphemy of their Saviour's name, and their rapine on the Saviour's Gospel, by the fear that grace, in such a connexion, will not be worthily free or adequately spontaneous! How have they been misunderstood! They could not concur with us, because we were not unequivocal as themselves in spreading the honours of infinite grace! They would go further, but we stop short in its full exhibition and fearless averment! They would apply a principle to all its extent, which we gainsay and cramp! True it is, that neither the sound or signification was until now so rife and lavish! But then the emergency that may be served—the success that may be won! Hitherto they kept their mouth with a bridle. The fire was shut up in their bones. The power of repression at length yielded. The holy indignation made a way for its lightning. Who would not make the grace of God a watchword, even if the idea be despised in the heart, if by its prepossessing character and vulgar association a deeper thrust be aimed at Christ's pre-eminence, and a darker slur be cast on the peculiarities of Christ's Gospel! The opposition, by these means, is so consistent and so characteristic! Their jealousy of grace is sensitive to that degree, that they cannot endure the Cross as an adjunct, or Him who hung upon it as its dispenser! Conjectural criticism, materializing scepticism, flippant invective,—the arrogant monopoly of reason, the supercilious contempt of the catholic faith, the treatment of the blood of the covenant as a common thing, and the paring down of our religion to a meagre nullity,—all originate

in profound homage and meek submission to the pure and uncompounded grace of God !

‘ It is thus the sophism is enunciated:—Redemption supposes the infliction of the penalty, though it be shifted from the individual delinquent to his substitute ; this is to attribute it to barter and compensation, and not to mercy ; to describe it as actually purchased, and not freely bestowed. “ For,” say our opponents, “ that which you call mercy is not free—your Surety has paid the ransom, has cancelled the claim. Our archetype of mercy contradicts such notions. It asks no victim, it exacts no term. Therefore the doctrine of grace is our peculiar tenet, for we supplicate as a pure favour what you may sue out as a strict right.”

“ Our soul is exceedingly filled with this contempt.”—The answer to this shallow parade of reasoning is as easy as undeserved. No lion need come out of Lebanon to tread down the thistle. The following observations may not be inapposite or useless.

‘ *The atonement is the effect of divine grace and placability.*

‘ Its oblation produced no change in the Divine mind. Jehovah is not merciful because Christ has died, but Christ has died because Jehovah was merciful. The Father sent the Son. It pleased the Lord to bruise him. God is never said to be “ reconciled in Christ ;” but as in “ Christ, reconciling the world to himself.”

‘ *Christianity, whatever may be its compensative principle, is entirely independent of man in its contrivance and provision.*

“ The grace which bringeth salvation ” is, in no sense, impaired by any arrangements which had a reference to ourselves. Antecedent questions of justice and satisfaction, could not injure the display of that love which was equally in the Father and the Son ; which was equally evinced in *inflicting* and *enduring* death. It wears but one expression towards us,—who, instead of making overtures of peace, still need a creative and a resurgent power to induce us to fall in with them,—who, instead of selecting the Mediator, now only call him the Lord by the Holy Ghost,—who, instead of approving and welcoming the remedy, were scandalized, until another mind was given, by its refusal to us of the smallest share in its honours.

‘ *The death of the cross is only a means to the most benevolent end.*

‘ We must reason inversely to all general modes of argument, if we can imagine that the grace, which is spread throughout the plan, is weakened, or depreciated, by the existence of certain moral difficulties in the way of its accomplishment. The benefaction is not commonly reduced in its value by its cost, nor a deliverance by its peril. There *must* be a maintenance of right, there must be a resentment of sin : but these preliminaries shall all consist with the pardon of those to whom the violation of that right, and the commission of that sin, have been traced. Is the grace of God the greater, or the less, when encountering no difficulty, or when encountering it to overcome it ? Is the grace of God more brightly, or more faintly, glorious, when associated with moral principles, or when disregarding them ? It is easy to speak of grace, disjoined from the atonement, as unconstrained ; but that which recognizes an atonement, is perfectly, absolutely, so, for it effectuates

its purpose by the atonement ; and, if *constrained*, is only held to what is right by the immaculateness of its nature, in the same manner in which God cannot err, or lie. Who is affected at the thought of Divine benevolence, when nothing urges, and when nothing opposes, it? Who is not affected when the strait and struggle of human fondness are borrowed to inculcate the infinite effort of that love which surrendered the ineffably endeared "Beloved," who was in its bosom ; when we are left amidst the pantings of wonder, the musings of gratitude, with such an intensitive, transcendental description as this, "He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all"?

'So the Bard represents the Messiah addressing the Eternal Father:

"Man shall find grace ;  
And shall grace not *find means* that finds her way,  
The speediest of thy winged messengers,  
To visit all thy creatures, and to all  
Comes *unprevented, unimplor'd, unsought?*  
*Happy for man, so coming ;* he her aid  
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost ;  
Atonement for himself or offering meet,  
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring."

'The Gospel, while it upholds the claims of the divine law, has an exclusive bearing upon us as sinners.

'Let the awful negotiations between the Father, who is in the Son, and of the Son, who is in the Father,—who are one—be whatever they were,—the sinner has no righteousness or claim. There may be a moral necessity that he shall be saved, but that necessity is perfectly foreign to any thing in himself. God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, but it is only through the countenance of mercy he can smile upon our lost condition. We can only be seen, and treated with, upon that level. We can only hope that through the grace of our Lord Jesus, we shall be saved. We can suppose a case in which the loss of a soul should be an injustice to the Saviour's desert, and a robbery of his reward ; but that injustice and robbery could not pass through him, and retain the same character toward the soul that was lost. That soul would have justice done to it : its salvation being a question not of justice but of grace.

'No blessing of the Gospel is, in any legitimate sense, the subject of purchase.

'Such phraseology is, at least, without the sanction of Scripture, if it be not in contradiction to it. Christians are "the purchased possession ;" they are "bought with a price." But the "sure mercies" of the covenant are thus unfitly represented. God was ready to forgive and sanctify, but there was an impediment. This was none other than the inconsistency into which these acts of favour would hurry him, if unattended by a fulfilment of his holy law. The atonement is the removal of that impediment in the prevention of that inconsistency : "the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ," henceforward, had merely to flow without check or restriction.'

pp. 360—366.

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In a note, Mr. Hamilton remarks, that 'it is strange how this *'vendible* language was introduced,' which lends countenance to Socinian objections. The error appears to us to have originated in a misinterpretation of Eph. i. 14; \* nor is it the only instance of an error founded upon a solitary passage of Scripture misunderstood. We agree with the Author in deeming such language unwarranted by Scripture, and liable to mischievous perversion. At the same time, the objection founded upon it, is as futile as it is disingenuous. Surely, the metonymy is, after all, not very violent, by which the redemption of a captive is spoken of as the purchase of his freedom. Christ has bought the Church of God "with his own blood:" he "gave his life a ransom for many." This is the Scriptural metaphor. Should we say that, in purchasing the Church, he procured for believers all the blessings involved in its redemption,—that, in ransoming his people, he purchased salvation for them, we should use language less strictly correct, but still of nearly equivalent import.

Although we purposely refrain from verbal criticism, we must remark, that Mr. Hamilton is chargeable with inadvertence in remarking (p. 519), that 'righteousness is more naturally connected with the enforcement of a sentence upon guilt.' The term and the idea which it is intended to convey, are precisely opposite to this, denoting vindication, as opposed to condemnation. Our Translators have involved the doctrine of justification in verbal obscurity by their strange inattention to the different acceptations of the original word. Mr. H. does not affect criticism. At p. 552, he adduces phrases from the Old Testament, as indicating personal distinctions in the Deity, which cannot, we think, afford a *safe* basis for the argument. We shall make room for one more specimen, and we can find nothing that we think more striking than the solemn appeal which closes the third sermon.

'There exists another form of objection: it regards the texture of the revelation *itself*. It can transfer the charge from the *evidence* to the *shape*. It is contended that it might have been composed on a fitter model, and in a more transparent style. There is a demand for more explicit definition, more fixed terminology, more consequential reasoning. To this we reply that Scripture was written on certain principles. The *first* was to exercise the mind—in comparing the whole, in developing the spirit, in drawing the inference; its meaning is clear, but it is not presented in rudiments, propositions, and axioms. It is to be sought, to be digested, to be systematized. However tech-

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\* 'ἐκποιήσας, quam Latine vertimus, *Acquisitam hæreditatem*, non est regnum cælorum aut beata immortalitas, sed ipsa Ecclesia.' Calv. in loco. The comment indicates the prevalence and source of the error, which did not originate with 'the Nonconformist fathers.'

nicalities are avoided, there is "a proportion of faith."—The *second* is, to be a perpetual *test* to our state of disposition. To the pure, to the meek, to the upright, to the docile, to the humble, it shows its truth. These "see it," "taste it," and have "all riches of the full assurance of understanding." No dimness pervades Divine revelation; the "light that is in us is darkness:" no veil is upon it; it is "upon our heart." And so long as "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," no argument could prove them to his judgment, no language could simplify them to his apprehension, no recommendation could endear them to his heart.

And let us remember that often as this excuse has been alleged, this plea adopted,—it was never heard by Heaven but to be disowned and refused. And that surrounded by all the information, and possessed of all the warning, which shall ever be imparted to us, it becomes us now to decide. In vain we wait for another economy of things. In vain we ask for a more auspicious era. "There shall be no sign given." "The dispensation of the fulness of times" has evolved the last truth, and counsel, and hope. And now eternity unfolds its motives to urge our decision. There is a disclosure of heaven and hell.—*The term for prayer is short.* This is a duty at least as important as that of intelligent conviction. Yet has it no scope in the place of torment. It can only ascend to Abraham's bosom to be rejected. It may expostulate, but it is beaten back upon the suppliant wretch. "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near." "Whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved."—*There is no term to retribution.* "The great gulf is fixed." Some may speak of the disciplinary flame. They may point their unhappy proselytes to the pit, as only a longer and rougher path to heaven. They may describe the misery of the lost as curative and salutary. But how have they learnt to solve the difficulty which he, who "was called the friend of God," confessed? or contrived to throw the cross-way over the abyss, impassable to spirits which might attempt the flight to soothe the lost, or escape to the blest?

Oh, it is plainly, incontrovertibly true, that we all sin, and all disbelieve, against declarations more pointed, against facts more stupendous, than any miracles. It is certain that nothing preternatural could conquer the apathy and the malignity which these cannot subdue. "We have a more sure word" of testimony than the gorgeous vision of "the holy mount." What could arouse, what impress, what soften, us, if we can hear that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," without rapt attention and bleeding emotion; if we can gaze on "Jesus, who hath delivered us from the wrath to come," without a weeping eye and a breaking heart? These are the higher wonders which men resist; the spectacles of merciful power, of unalterable love, which they withstand. He, who was "in the bosom of the Father," has tabernacled on an earth which was "made by him and for him," and was "God manifest in the flesh." The nature He assumed was the awful device and instrument for a sacrifice, which received all the merits, and developed all the purposes, of the Indwelling Divinity. He went down into the state of death: though the "Living Being, he was dead:" He rose from the grave, and bore our nature and our cause with him, not only as the subject of his ad-

vocacy and government, but as an essential of his Person, and the crown of his Glory. It were easy, after evading and opposing these truths, to deride the most dazzling sign, and mock the most solemn voice, of the Almighty—to “run upon him, even upon the thick bosses of his bucklers.” Now this conduct may find some apologist, and shelter itself in some pretext! Now it may be thought a honourable candour, if some doubter shall exclaim, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian!” Now it may seem no insolence to assert, that the religion which four thousand years were required to reveal, only failed to convince,—that the sentiments, with which it was greeted, only fell short of a conviction that it was true,—and that the creature, to whom it was addressed, did all but embrace it! But then, when all hearts are exposed—but then, when all men are arraigned, unbelief shall stand recorded and accursed, as the blasphemy of rebellion, as the extravagance of infatuation, as the madness of folly! No palliative will then occur, no sophism then flatter! “They shall proceed no further!”

‘Your faith, your obedience, are at this moment demanded upon substantive grounds, upon all-interesting reasons: you have the complement of evidence, and the accumulation of impression: justice dictates nothing superadded, and mercy asks no more! Therefore, “Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is, to bring Christ down from above) or, who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart; that is, the word of faith, which we preach; That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.”’ pp. 160—163.

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Art. V. *Christian Self-Dedication and “Departure.”* A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M. One of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Delivered to his Congregation at Battersea, on Sunday, Oct. 13, 1833. By John Sheppard, Author of “Thoughts on Private Devotion”, &c. 8vo, pp. 40. London, 1833.

**I**N noticing a single sermon, we generally feel to be doing what may seem to require an apology to the ninety-nine authors of the sermons that we cannot notice. But the occasion of the present Discourse, together with the interesting particulars which it contains in reference to the last days of the much honoured and esteemed Co-Secretary to the Bible Society, will render all such apology, in the present instance, superfluous. Nor shall we stop to make any comment upon the circumstance that this is a *lay* sermon. Mr. Sheppard, although not ‘in orders’, is assuredly a *clerk*; although not a pastor, he is a religious teacher, whose writings form his best testimonials; and his intimacy with Mr. Hughes will explain his having been selected by the family to pay this tribute to his memory.

No more appropriate text could have been selected, than that which Mr. Sheppard chose for the occasion; 2 Tim. iv. 6; and



the first part of the discourse contains an able exposition of the passage, as illustrative of the state and temper of the devout Christian at the approach of death. Mr. S. then proceeds to 'adduce an apposite instance of this union of feelings in the honoured friend whose departure' he was called to improve. After very briefly adverting to some characteristic marks of true discipleship which were prominently visible in his life, the Preacher delineates the state of mind in which, willing to live, yet ready to depart, his deceased friend awaited the approach of the summons.

He loved life, for he loved the *duties* and the *toils* of life. He rejoiced to serve "the Lord who bought him," and his fellow-immortals ransomed by the same "precious blood." He could say, with far more truth than the poetic heathen, "Labour is itself a pleasure." And therefore when first the obscure summons of death appeared, it was not readily interpreted, nor then wholly welcome. He would fain have done something more for a dark and self-deluding world. He had his deep affections also. The ties of kindred, those so long cherished, and the new and *secondary* parental ties, (in the love of children's children,) were twined about his heart. His susceptibility, also, peculiarly shrank from the sharp pain which art inflicts to heal; yet when this became needful, he bore it with resigned fortitude; and when the announcement of approaching mortality was distinct and unequivocal, he was at once "ready to be offered;" when he knew and felt that the time of his "departure" was indeed "at hand," he was possessed with a strong and earnest "*desire* to depart and to be with Christ, which is incomparably better." This desire was expressed (as I learn from the record of a pious friend, who loved his graces and watched by his death-bed,) in close combination with a deep humility. On that occasion, when he had said, "Pray that an abundant entrance may be administered into glory,"—the writer replied, "We are *sure*, dear Sir, *you* will have an abundant entrance, but the churches all pray for your restoration to health; we cannot spare you from earth yet." On which he rejoined, "*Do* not be sure on the ground of *merit*; never for a *moment* connect such an idea with any unworthy services of mine. When I am with Christ, I would come again to you, and tell you *how* much better it is to be with Christ; *but this cannot be*." At another time he said to the same friend, "Oh, that precious blood;" then, after a short pause, and agitated with much feeling, he added, "I have *no wish*, *no wish*; to be restored to greater usefulness would be indeed a blessing; but to be beyond the reach of transgression, never to have a cloud pass over the mind—to be filled with the fulness, (he again repeated)—to be filled with the fulness of God: think what *those* words contain." Nor were his best earthly affections quenched or obliterated, as some would unnaturally have them be, in the transcendent hope of being with his Saviour and his God. When his son had read to him some passages of the invaluable Howe, he quoted a simile of that great man, whom he termed a kindred spirit with Hall, "on the key being turned to admit the soul into Paradise," and then added, with an inexpressible

look of anxiety and tenderness, "O, to meet children and grandchildren *there*."

'The before-mentioned friend and her husband coming to take leave of him, he raised both his arms, and laboured to express his joy at embracing them once again;—then, with extreme difficulty, (for breath and voice were nearly gone,) he said—"If we are the children of God, we are indestructible."

'When a friend observed that it must be peculiarly gratifying to know that so many kind friends felt a deep sympathy in his affliction, Mr. Hughes added,—“and shall not the *Friend* of my friends watch over me with his parental eyes?” On another occasion, when receiving assistance from several, he said,—“There are *many helpers*, but *one Saviour*.” He desired his son to write to his old and valued friend, Mr. Foster, and acquaint him “that his life was quivering in the socket;” he heard with peculiar satisfaction the reply of that eminent man; and when his son read the following words from his letter, “But, O, my friend, whither is it that you are going? *Where* is it that you will be in a few short weeks or days hence?”—he lifted up his hands expressively, as much as to reply, “To heaven I am going, there to dwell with God and with Christ, and with the spirits of just men made perfect:” adding at its conclusion, “*There* is genius and piety; I am glad that you elicited that letter.” But while he well knew how to estimate and prize the union of piety with genius, he equally knew how to honour and value piety in its *lowliest simplest* guise. He said to a kind attendant, “Mary, a disciple and friend of the Saviour, I am glad *you* are come to us in affliction; this is a painful dispensation, but there is so much mercy mixed with it,—O, *help me to praise my God!*” “The next morning,” this pious attendant adds, “Mrs. Hughes asked where she should read; he said, the 15th chapter of Exodus; he afterwards repeated the second verse, ‘The Lord is my strength and my song, and is become my salvation,’ &c. and referred to the twenty-third and two following verses, saying, that ‘the waters of Marah, at this time, were sweetened with the consolations of the *gospel* ;’ and adding—‘Thy word can bring a sweet relief, for every pain I feel.’” She adds, “As we afterwards stood by him, he said,—‘Walk in humility; live not for yourselves; live much for others; may the Lord bless you and guide you.’” Speaking of his little flock, he said,—“Give my love to them, tell them I bear them on my heart.” The same kind and devout witness and helper of his faith relates,—“In the evening of the Wednesday week before his departure, a candle being placed on the table, I asked if the light was not too much; ‘No,’ he said, pointing with his finger to the skies, ‘*there is a light* which no mortal eye can behold; read me the 19th verse of the 60th chapter of Isaiah: I long to be *emancipated!*’” After asking the time of the day he would often say, “So much nearer to the kingdom.” “I think it was the Friday or the Saturday before his departure,” this christian attendant continues, “he said,—‘I am in some dismay as it regards the future; I do not mean as it respects another world; *there* is nothing dark behind.’ ‘I fear lest I should in the trying hour dishonour God by any expression indicating impatience.’ I replied,—‘That grace which has been manifest in your life, and has triumphed in your affliction, will support you and triumph

in your death.' 'I know,' he said, 'that His grace is sufficient for all things, in life and death.'"

A short time before his decease, Mr. Hughes tendered his resignation to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with which he had been identified from its foundation, and of which he might claim to be considered as the father. His letter on this occasion, which has found its way into the public prints, our readers will, we think, peruse with interest.

'Gentlemen,—For several weeks I have been seriously considering the duty of absorbing personal considerations in the value of a great and prosperous institution, calculated to promote the interests of the present and all future generations. Hence I am at length brought to the conclusion, that it becomes me, without delay, to resign the office which I have borne in the society since its commencement—an office in the execution of which I trust I have not been useless, and in connection with which I have assuredly enjoyed peculiar privileges and distinctions. I refer to the connection into which it has brought me with our revered President and Vice-Presidents, with the members of our successive committees, with colleagues departed and surviving, and with other fellow-Christians, too estimable to be forgotten, but too numerous to be specified. I cannot forget the kindness of so many hosts and hostesses through the counties, nor the grateful fellowship experienced among the pious persons of the various religious communities.

'In one word, the office has, I believe, greatly helped me in the way to heaven; but now my great Lord seems to say, "I have dissolved the commission—thy work in this department is done: yield cheerfully to my purpose, and prepare to enter those blessed abodes where the labours of the Bible Society shall reveal a more glorious consummation than the fondest hope had anticipated!"

'I thank you, my dear friends, for your sympathy, and all your expressions of esteem and kindness on former occasions, and now so tenderly repeated in the hour of serious conflict and trial.

'May God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts and strengthen your hands, and especially direct you in the choice of a successor, who shall diminish the regret which you may feel at parting with an old coadjutor, and one who hopes to meet you in that world to which the Bible guides our joyful and undeceiving hopes. Very dear friends, I am, most affectionately yours,

'Battersea, Aug. 26th, 1833.'

'JOSEPH HUGHES.'

We understand that Mr. Hughes has left materials for a memoir of the first seventeen years of his life, which, with some of his remains, will probably be given to the public. Of the last nine and twenty years of his life, the records of the Bible Society furnish the history; and the public may be said to have been the constant witness of his labours. His acts of kindness and generosity, indeed, were known to few besides the objects of them. Never was any one who enjoyed so large a share of public notice, more free from ostentation; and his unassuming manners, simplicity of character, catholic spirit, extreme prudence, and serene piety, rendered him peculiarly qualified for the honourable post he was called to occupy. He had well "fulfilled his course."



## Art. VI. THE ANNUALS.

*The Landscape Annual for 1834. The Tourist in France. By Thomas Roscoe. Illustrated from Drawings by J. D. Harding.*

ALTHOUGH we cannot admit that Italy has been exhausted of picturesque subjects for the pencil, or ever can be, we are not displeased, nor will the public be, at finding the scene of Mr. Ritchie's travelling sketches, as well as Mr. Roscoe's historical illustrations, in their *Annals* for the coming year, laid in France. Hitherto, that country has been traversed, rather than explored by our tourists and artists; and although its high routes are as familiar as the road from London to York, it abounds with scenes and objects of interest visited by few. France can boast of no Rome, or Florence, or Venice, or Bay of Naples; and it is comparatively poor in historical associations, except those which are connected with early English history or feudal romance. But this exception is a most significant one. The romantic associations inspired by the baronial castle, the mouldering abbey, the Gothic cathedral, the scenery of France continually calls up; nor are there wanting the Roman remain, the aqueduct or amphitheatre, to recall days of higher antiquity; while the high lands of Auvergne, and the loftier mountains which skirt the southern and eastern borders, afford abundant specimens of nature's loftier style of beauty, where wildness blends with grandeur.

The *Landscape Annual* contains twenty-six plates from beautiful drawings by Harding; an artist who, in purity of taste and clever management of his pencil, without trick or mannerism, is surpassed by few of his rivals. The scenery is laid chiefly in Auvergne and the Valley of the Rhone. Clermont-Ferrand, the capital of the Puys de Dome, Royat, Thiers, Le Puy, Polignac, Vic, and Aurillac, furnish the picturesque subjects of fourteen plates. Montpellier and Montferrier, the Amphitheatre at Nismes, Avignon and its vicinity, and Lyons, supply the remainder. The view of the amphitheatre at Nismes is crowded with life and interest, and great pains have been bestowed upon it by the engraver (J. B. Allen). 'Royat' does high credit to both artists; a praise which may be emphatically applied to the frontispiece and title, to Chateau Polignac, and to one or two others; but some inequality in the execution must be expected, and the burin has not in every instance been completely successful. Upon the whole, however, it is a charming set of plates. Mr. Roscoe has executed his task very respectably, and has given us a pleasing variety of topographical description and historic anecdote. As a specimen, we take part of the entertaining account given of the Castle of Polignac.

'One of the principal points of interest attaching to the town and vicinity of Le Puy, is the extraordinary character of those volcanic

rocks which seem to surround the place on all sides. That of Cornille, which directly overhangs it, assumes the singular cubic form which prevails so generally, and has a very picturesque appearance. The adjacent one of Polignac rises about half a league from the town; it is of an oblong sort of square, cut perpendicularly in three sides, and presents one large flat surface above, which was once the site of the castle bearing the same name. It is now only a broken mass, or rather a hedge of ruins, of which the strangely wild, yet picturesque aspect, at once arrests the eye of the beholder. So much was Arthur Young, in his agricultural tour, struck with its romantic appearance, that, losing sight of fat soils and heavy produce, for a moment, he declared with enthusiasm, that, were it his, he would not part with it for a whole province.

‘The lofty and singularly situated position of this ancient castle, is seen to great advantage from the spot which the artist selected for his sketch. The mountainous character, and the general sterility of the country, give to its ruins an additional air of wildness and desertion; and the same heavy and mournful aspect extends over the surrounding scenery, which is no way relieved by the rude monumental relique displayed, in the accompanying view, in its executive character of the cross. In the immediate neighbourhood, however, are several little villages, which, with their castles or churches erected upon the summit of the hills, give relief to the eye of the traveller; and, in many respects, if we allow for the prevailing want of foliage, remind him of some parts of Italy, from which the style of architecture, and the decoration of the houses, sometimes appear to have been borrowed.

‘After long research amidst the various relics of the decayed chateau, was discovered that celebrated head of Apollo, often mentioned by M. de Faujas, and other writers. It is a piece of rude sculpture, round and massy; the mouth is open, as if in the act of speech; “and, doubtless for this reason,” says a French writer, “it must have belonged to some divinity which gave forth oracles.” The nose has been partially mutilated, as is the case with most part of the ancient statues. The beard, the hair, and the eyes are in tolerably good preservation. The head is supposed to have belonged to a temple of Apollo, of which the site, rather than the ruins, is pointed out near the antique castle; and on this authority, etymologists ventured to give the Latin words *Apollinis sacrum* to the family name of Polignac;—a name now so vividly impressed upon the page of history, as to call for no adventitious aid from Heathen deities to perpetuate it. Instead, however, of the foregoing, M. de Faujas, with laudable zeal, has substituted the reading of *Pod-omniacus*, conformably with the Latin name given to the castle by Sidoine Apollinaire, whose words are exactly,—*nam vetus nomen arvis Podomniacus*. Now M. de Faujas ingeniously extracts the *pod* out of *podium*, which signifies *hauteur*, and *omniacus* from *omniacus*, deriving it from *omen*, an oracle. This last explanation, we conceive, renders the etymology of the house of Polignac the most satisfactory and edifying of the whole. Sidoine, more than once, makes mention of it, as if he considered it were his own peculiar patronymic. When chosen Bishop of Clermont, it is pretended that he caused his brother to be elected Viscount of Velai, and from that

noble stem have sprung the successive Counts of Polignac; whose name, observes another French writer, ought, strictly speaking, to have been formed of two Latin words, *Apollinaris arx* (or read, *orux*) a new etymology which we willingly leave to the taste of amateurs. In the same castle, was born the Cardinal of Polignac, a celebrated diplomatist in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth,—more fortunate than his descendant, and the author of a Latin poem, entitled the *Anti-Lucrèce*; though it seems no way to have emanated from the *Arx Apollinaris* before mentioned. Nor do the early historical allusions to other members of the family, tend to create a favourable opinion of its good fortune. In the reign of Charles VI., we find mention of a gentleman of the court, called the Bastard of Polignac, and in connexion with an event of a tragical nature, both as regarded his own fate and that of his royal master. He died by the king's hand, as they were passing through a forest between the towns of Mons and La Flèche at noon day.'

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'It may be remarked as somewhat singular, that while one king of France with his own hand deprived a Polignac of his life, an individual of the latter name should, by his counsels—an odd sort of retributive justice—have deprived another king of France of his crown and kingdom. It is not less strange, that the successor of Charles VI. should have been residing, at the time of the king's death, within the precincts of the village of Polignac (at the chateau d'Espailly).'

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*Heath's Picturesque Annual.* Travelling Sketches on the Sea-coasts of France. By Leitch Ritchie, Esq.

Mr. Ritchie has taken us a coasting tour, in company with his friend Stanfield, whose love of the sea, all who gaze on his sea-views are in danger of imbibing. It is announced, however, that with this volume Mr. Stanfield's engagement terminates, and the tour hitherto pursued, closes.

'We have,' says Mr. Ritchie, 'crossed France, Switzerland, the Alps, Sardinia, the Milanese, the Lombard-Venetian kingdom, and the Tyrol. We have descended the Rhine, along the frontiers of Bavaria, and the old Palatinate—and through Prussia and Holland to the sea. We have traversed Belgium, and skimmed' (in the present volume) 'along the coasts of Picardy, Normandy, and part of Brittany. Our plan, we say, is filled up; our task accomplished. Ours! O vanity of authorship! We have all the time been trying to amuse the reader while he was gazing at Mr. Stanfield's pictures. Here, Stanfield and we part. . . . In our next journey we shall enter upon old ground, which we know we shall make new by the assistance of a mighty master in the powerful and the original. Our comrade and travelling companion—worthy to take the place of Stanfield—will be Cat-termole, a master whose forte lies in the union of the historical with the landscape styles of painting.'



This announcement is intended, we presume, to be enigmatical. Mr. Cattermole's forte lies very much in architectural designs; and if it is intended to present to us, in the next volume, specimens from his pencil of the rich and characteristic ecclesiastical architecture of Normandy, we shall be extremely well pleased with the arrangement. That province will of itself supply ample materials, as Dawson Turner's volumes and Mr. Wood's *Letters of an Architect*, to say nothing of Mrs. Stothard, amply evince. Mr. Ritchie will know well how to turn the labours of his predecessors to good account, mingling his own graphic sketches and imaginative snatches of lay or legend with more staple materials.

The present volume contains twenty-one plates, the subjects of which are as follows: Dieppe, Calais, Abbeville, Eu and Tréport, Fécamp, Havre, Harfleur, Caen, Mont St. Michel (four), St. Malo (five). Some of the subjects are not a little indebted to Mr. Stanfield's management for their scenic effect. But this is not the case with Mont St. Michel, which appears to have fairly seized upon the artist's imagination, and made him confess himself mastered by nature. When Mr. Stanfield returned from the spot, he told the Author, that he 'could not rest night or day for thinking of this wonderful scene.' Consecrated as it is by tradition, as well as guarded by nature, it would have been the very place for Walter Scott to have peopled with the creatures of romance. Mr. Ritchie has not lost the opportunity afforded him for some brilliant writing.

'Imagine a desert of sand, consisting of eight square leagues of surface, traversed by several rivers, the waters of which in some places spread themselves out in the form of a lake. Carry your eye beyond this desert of sand to a still mightier desert of sea, which you will know by its deeper colour; and just before arriving at the margin (not easily ascertained) of the latter, build up a granite rock crowned with towers, on a base of a quarter of a league in circumference, to the height of five hundred feet. This is Mont-Saint-Michel at the reflux of the tide. Then fancy that the desert of sand was but a dream, and that the great ocean fills the whole area indicated by the form of the land as its natural territory; and rear, in the midst of this waste of waters, the same granite monument. This is Mont-Saint-Michel four days before and after the new and full moon. The towns which surround, at a greater or less distance, this wonder of nature and art, are, Granville on the north, Avranches on the north-east, Pontorson and Dal on the south, and Cancale on the south-west. The open sea extends its apparently interminable length to the west.

'Mont-Saint-Michel was originally called Mont Belenus, if we are to believe the antiquaries,—who are your true poets,—and this name, which the Druids gave to the sun, is the Baal of Scripture, and the Belus of the Assyrians. It is, at all events, a remarkable etymological coincidence that, on the same grèves, within half a league of Saint-

Michel, there is a rock (also a very singular object) called formerly Tumba, now Tumbeleine—*Tumba Beleni*!

‘The Druids reigned at Mont Belenus till the era of Augustus, or perhaps till the times of Tiberius or Claudius; and the shell-collars, that are sold to-day at Mont-Saint-Michel, are referred to customs connected with their rites. When the granite altars of the Druids were finally destroyed, the rock received the name of Mont-Jou, or Moas Jovis, and a temple of Jupiter was raised upon its pinnacles; but in the year 313, after the edict of Constantine was promulgated, by which every man was allowed to worship his own God, it was inhabited by some Christian hermits, who built a monastery called Monasterium ad Duas Tumbas, the neighbouring rock being included in the same district.

‘In 708, St. Aubert, the twelfth bishop of Avranches, built a church on the spot, with some cells round it, consecrating the holy ground to St. Michel;—but it appears that it was not till the archangel—the chief of the knights of heaven—struck the negligent priest a blow upon the forehead with his finger, that he executed the will of God. The scull of St. Aubert may be seen to this day, or was so lately, in the church of St. Gervais at Avranches, with the impress of the angelic thumb on the frontal bone.

‘The fortress raised in the midst of this vast desert is worthy of its situation. There is an air of the fantastic about it, without which it would be out of place. You feel, on leaving the habitable earth, that you are entering a new world, more wild and extraordinary than any your imagination ever shaped out of the golden clouds of sunset; and an ordinary building, however beautiful or majestic, on that lonely rock, would shock you by its incongruity. The annexed view conveys as perfect an idea of the scene as can be contained in so small a space; but it requires a fine imagination to carry out the thought with which the mind of the painter was labouring. This, in fact, is the very region of fancy. It is neither the earth, nor the sea; but a debateable land, haunted only by those outlaws of the mind which disclaim the control of sober reason.

‘It is maintained by some antiquaries, that Saint-Michel was once situated in the middle of a vast forest, submerged by successive irruptions of the sea in the sixth century. The best proof they offer is a map, constructed by a canon of Coutances, in which the road is carried through the forests of Pissy and Chesay to Valognes, leaving Saint-Michel to the *right*, at some distance from the sea. The trees, also, that are constantly found among the sands, with their roots and branches entire, are supposed to strengthen the testimony.

‘However this may be, the sea, there is no doubt, has at various times made frightful ravages in this part of the coast of France. The commune of Bourgneux was submerged in the fifteenth century; and those of Saint-Louis, Mauni de la Feillette, and Saint Etienne de Palnel, met at different periods the same fate. The ruins of the last-mentioned place were discovered in a storm in 1735, and the streets of the town, and foundations of the houses, plainly distinguished. For the purpose of opposing these terrific visitations, there is a dyke, five

leagues long, which protects a superficies of ten square leagues from inundation ; but notwithstanding all the efforts of man, the sea sometimes bursts its limits. On the sixth of March, 1817, at the spring tide of the equinox, it overflowed the low lands of the country to a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles from the dike, carrying with it whole herds of cattle that were grazing peacefully on the pastures where they had been born.

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‘The rock is almost encircled by walls, flanked with towers and bastions. At the gate we saw on each side the antique cannons taken from the English, one with a stone bullet in its mouth ; and, having gazed, with as much humiliation as we could muster, at these trophies, we passed into a court, where there is a guard-house, in which strangers are usually searched and disarmed. This ceremony, however, was omitted with regard to us ; the pen, we suppose, (although in reality a much more powerful weapon than the sword,) not being ranked in the list of offensive arms. On going through another gate, we were in the town of Saint-Michel—and a more dirty and wretched society of hovels we never saw. . . . .

‘The subterranean excavations are the most curious of the sights which the place affords. They consist of cellars and powder magazines ; the vaults in which are the wheel and cable used for weighing heavy goods from the sands below ; the prisons under this vault ; and the *oubliettes*, those frightful dungeons, the way to which is narrow and labyrinthine, and which are entered by means of a trap-door.

‘But the truth is, we saw nothing within, which equalled the view without. The buildings rise, vault after vault, far above the rock ; and the church stands in great part on pillars constructed to serve for its foundation. The view from the platform before its portal, comprehends the coasts of Normandy and Brittany, the road of Cancale, and the towns of Avranches, Dal, and Pontorson, with the vast sands of the grève on one hand, and the open sea on the other. Above these, on the clock tower, is the *promenade de petits fous* ; and twenty-two feet still higher, the *promenade des grands fous* ; signifying by their names the relative degrees of sanity of those who choose them for their walk. On the summit of all is a telegraph ; but the gilded statue of Saint-Michel, mentioned, by M. de Thou, as forming the pinnacle of the temple, exists only in history.’

This long and capital extract must suffice as a specimen of the present volume, which will need little recommendation to those who have made themselves acquainted with its predecessors. We are not in critical mood, and must leave our readers to find out the faults for themselves. To the lovers of light reading, the history of Mons. Cabrieux, ‘the twelve sons of Tancrede’, and ‘the desperado of Fecamp’ will be attractive titles. ‘The Black Chapter’ is, unhappily, not too black for truth ; and were it not too long, and almost too horrible for our pages, we should have transcribed it. For our own part, we feel most indebted to Mr.



Ritchie for the solid and valuable information which is scattered through his pages.

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*The Oriental Annual.*

A new competitor for public favour appears this season, under the title of "*The Oriental Annual*," containing twenty-five engravings from drawings by William Daniell, R.A., illustrative of Indian scenery, in which that artist so peculiarly excels. The idea of the work is a happy one; and if the British public could be brought to take any interest, any thing like proportionate and appropriate interest, in the magnificent empire which Providence has conferred upon Britain, and which has rendered her the arbitress of the political condition of 150 millions, and mistress of the East, the volume could not fail to be successful. It is by means of the pencil, indeed, that India will most readily be familiarized to the public, and an interest be created in its scenery, monuments, and inhabitants, which may hereafter be turned to important account. The descriptive and narrative matter is supplied by the Rev. Hobart Caunter, who having resided for several years in the country, has been enabled greatly to enhance, by the interest attaching to a personal narrative, and the knowledge derived from familiarity with the scenes, the value of the publication.

The drawings—to begin with the most attractive feature of an Annual—are twenty-five in number. Two are portraits, Mahadajee Sindia and the Queen of Candy: the others present a well chosen variety of landscape, architecture, and groupes illustrative of India's zoological wonders. Among the latter, a party of wild elephants, an elephant in full caparison, and a vulture and alligator, fighting for a dead elephant, are characteristic specimens of Mr. Daniell's spirited style. 'The Talipât-tree' rises in the midst of a most lovely Cingalese landscape. The Fall at Pupanassum—the river is not named—is an exquisite plate. Then we have, the Mausoleum at Raj-mah'l; the magnificent mausoleum of Shere Shah; the Taj Mah'l at Agra; the temple at Mahabalipoor; and various pagodas, mosques, and ghauts, such as every where give to Indian scenery so peculiar and picturesque a character.

Mr. Caunter lands us first at Madras; he then sets out, in search of the picturesque, for the Seven Pagodas, one of the most remarkable monuments in the South of India. The sea which washes them, has gained much upon this coast; and it has encroached to some extent, Mr. Caunter says, upon the walls of Madras, within the recollection of many persons now living. To this statement is appended a note, in which Bishop Heber is incorrectly represented as affirming, that the sea had receded from

all parts of this coast. The Bishop's words are: 'There are some small remains of architecture which rise from amid the waves, and give a proof that, in this particular spot, as at Madras, the sea has encroached on the land, though, in most other parts of the Coromandel coast, it seems receding, rather than advancing.\*' Mr. Caunter will excuse our saying, that he ought not to have trusted to his memory, in charging the good Bishop with inaccuracy; and we are somewhat surprised at the sweeping terms in which he concludes the note.

'The mistakes into which Bishop Heber has naturally fallen, from his inexperience of many of the subjects upon which he touches, and which a more intimate acquaintance with them would have enabled him to correct, causes the Anglo-Indian reader to regret that his journal was ever published: it is full of inaccuracies, and is often very foolishly quoted as an authority where it is least to be relied on.'

We do not deny that there is some foundation for the latter remark; and mistakes, it was inevitable that the Bishop should fall into. At the same time, all things considered, they are surprisingly few, and detract but little from the substantial merit of his Journal, which, were its intrinsic value much less than we are disposed to assign to it, it would have been unpardonable to withhold. No work has, perhaps, so powerfully contributed to create an interest in the minds of general readers in this country, respecting India; and all that was wanted, to render the publication extremely valuable, was, a competent Editor. Mr. Caunter will perform a valuable service by taking every fair opportunity of correcting the inaccuracies he refers to; some of which, indeed, are noticed by the Editor of the Modern Traveller,—a work which does not appear to have fallen in his way.

After describing the Coromandel coast, Mr. Caunter, in his seventh chapter, transports us to Ceylon, and thence to the Ganges. Without deigning to notice Calcutta, he hurries us up to Rajmahl, where the country begins to rise from the level plains of Bengal, into the first chain of hills: we are then carried delightfully up the stream to Benares and Cawnpoor, whence the tour is prosecuted over land, to Agra, Delhi, and Hurdwar. This whole route is rich in interesting objects; yet, it affords but a glance at the boundless variety which India comprehends.

"Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book" is a splendid affair, admirably fitted for the drawing-room table. It is in quarto, and contains thirty-six plates, of all sorts of subjects,—British and Foreign: the Caves of Ellora and Exeter Cathedral, the banks of the Jumna and Grasmere lake, Bejapoor and Preston, portraits of Kemble and Bishop Wilson, the Dancing Girl and the

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\* Heber, Vol. III. p. 216.

Dutchess of Sutherland. Few of the designs are new, but they are a rich selection. The Oriental views are from Captain Elliott's Sketches, comprising some of the most interesting scenes in India; and the whole are exquisitely engraved. The letter-press consists of poetical Illustrations, by L. E. L. The plates of Eastern Scenery are illustrated by a connected tale of 'hope, love, and sorrow'; the English landscapes by detached poems of very unequal merit, but altogether exhibiting a very rare facility and versatility of talent. The following stanzas are recommended by their subject, and they are the most suitable extracts we can find.

### THE MISSIONARY.

- ' It is a glorious task to seek,  
Where misery droops the patient head :  
Where tears are on the widow's cheek,  
Where weeps the mourner o'er the dead.
- ' These are the moments when the heart  
Turns from a world no longer dear :  
These are the moments to impart  
The only hopes still constant here.
- ' That hope is present in our land,  
For many a sacred shrine is there ;  
Time-honoured old cathedrals stand ;  
Each village has its house of prayer.
- ' O'er all the realms one creed is spread,  
One name adored, one altar known ;  
If souls be there in doubt or dread,  
Alas ! the darkness is their own.
- ' The priest whose heart is in his toil  
Hath here a task of hope and love ;  
He dwells upon his native soil,  
He has his native sky above.
- ' Not so beneath this foreign sky ;  
No so upon this burning strand ;  
Where yonder giant temples lie,  
The miracles of mortal hand.
- ' Mighty and beautiful, but given  
To idols of a creed profane ;  
That cast the shade of earth on heaven,  
By fancies monstrous, vile, and vain.
- ' Here the pale priest must half unlearn  
The accents of his mother tongue ;  
Must dwell 'mid strangers, and must earn  
Fruits from a soil reluctant wrung.



- ‘ His words on hardened hearts must fall,  
Hardened till God’s appointed hour ;  
Yet he must wait and watch o’er all,  
Till hope grows faith, and prayer has power.
- ‘ And many a grave neglected lies,  
Where sleep the soldiers of the Lord ;  
Who perished ’neath the sultry skies,  
Where first they preached that sacred word.
- ‘ But not in vain—their toil was blest ;  
Life’s dearest hope by them was won ;  
A blessing is upon their rest,  
And on the work which they begun.
- ‘ Yon city, where our purer creed  
Was as a thing unnamed, unknown,  
Has now a sense of deeper need,  
Has now a place of prayer its own.
- ‘ And many a darkened mind has light,  
And many a stony heart has tears ;  
The morning breaking o’er that night,  
So long upon those godless spheres.
- ‘ Our prayers be with them—we who know  
The value of a soul to save,  
Must pray for those, who seek to shew  
The heathen hope beyond the grave.’

A second volume of “*The Landscape Album, or Great Britain illustrated,*” contains fifty-nine views of English and Scottish scenery, by W. Westall, A.R.A., engraved chiefly by Finden, with brief descriptions by Thomas Moule, Esq. These views have, we believe, appeared in Numbers. We know not what more we can say of such a volume, than that it is a cheap and elegant ornament for the boudoir or library,—just such a book as it is pleasant to have at hand to look through in an idle interval, while waiting till a shower is over, or till dinner is announced ; and out of fifty-nine views, it is probable that every who takes it up will find two or three that will derive additional interest from his being able to say, ‘ I have been there.’

Having disposed of the *Landscape Annuals*, we now come to speak of those which have, perhaps, prior claims upon our notice, both as having led the fashion, and as making higher pretensions to literary excellence. Ackermann’s *Forget-me-Not*, Watts’s *Literary Souvenir*, Pringle’s *Friendship’s Offering*, and Hall’s *Amulet*, so well keep up the average of their respective and distinctive character and attractions, that our reviews of the former volumes would serve equally well for those of the present season. They have, as before, many writers in common, and

each a little coterie of its own. Among the old contributors, the reader will be pleased again to meet, in more than one, with Miss Mitford, Miss Lawrance, Mrs. Howitt, and others of the gifted sisterhood; also the Rev. C. B. Taylor and some of the great anonymous. But, to confess the truth, we have not yet had time fairly to inspect and critically to weigh the merits of each of these volumes, and must therefore postpone all further account of their contents. The Amulet is studded with brilliant embellishments, which will be favourites in the print shops. Donna Maria is an exquisite engraving, but we are afraid that her Faithful Majesty will never be quite so fine a woman. The Souvenir also has a rich set of plates. Ackermann's are, as usual, book-plates, sufficiently good for the purpose, but with no higher pretensions,—except one, Hamilton's *Revenge*, from Franklin, which is a gem; we should perhaps add, an interior of a Church, by Prout. But more of these in our next. In the mean time, we occupy a spare page with two poetical specimens.

#### ‘ HYDER ALI.

- ‘ Round him rang the jewelled chain,  
   On his brow the jewels shone,  
 ‘ O’er him swept the tiger vane,  
   Shield of warriors were his throne;  
 Circled with ten thousand steeds,  
   Fleet as wind and fierce as flame,  
 Foremost where the battle bleeds,  
   Dark Mysore, thy Sultan came.
- ‘ Down the Ghaut the tempest poured—  
   Living storm of man and steel—  
 Thousand thousands, horde on horde,  
   Sword in hand and spur on heel—  
 Rushing like the thunder-stroke,  
   Seen a cloud but felt a fire:  
 Down the burning tempest broke:  
   India was a funeral pyre.
- ‘ Kingdom of the palaces!  
   What avail thee, proud Bengal,  
 Mighty rivers, circling seas,  
   Mountain ridge, and battled wall!  
 Hyder o’er thee shakes his spear,  
   O’er thy plains his riders sweep;  
 Child of agony and fear,  
   What hast thou to do but weep!

‘Come, thou rooter up of thrones !  
Come, with scimitar and brand ;  
Vishnu from his temple groans ;  
“ Smite the stranger from the land ! ”  
Strength be in thy lance’s thrust !  
Glory sit upon thy vane !  
Make the heavens at last be just :  
Hindustan is free again !

*Forget me Not.*

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‘ OH, MAID OF THE TWEED.

AN EMIGRANT’S SONG,

BY THOMAS PRINGLE.

‘ Oh, Maid of the Tweed, wilt thou travel with me,  
To the wilds of South-Africa, far o’er the sea,  
Where the blue mountains tow’r in the beautiful clime,  
Hung round with huge forests, all hoary with time ?  
I’ll build thee a cabin beside the clear fount,  
Where it leaps into light from the heart of the mount,  
Ere yet its young footsteps have found the fair meads  
Where ’mid the tall lilies the antelope feeds.

‘ Our home, like a bee-hive, shall stand by the wood,  
Where the lory and turtle-dove nurse their young brood,  
And the golden plumed paroquet waves his bright wings  
From the bough where the green-monkey gambols and swings ;  
With the high rocks behind us, the valleys before,  
The hills on each side with our flocks speckled o’er,  
And the far sweeping river oft glancing between,  
With the heifer reclined on its margin of green.

‘ There, rich in the wealth which a bountiful soil  
Pours forth to repay the glad husbandman’s toil ;  
Content with the present, at peace with the past,  
No cloud on the future our joys to o’ercast ;  
Like our brave Scottish sires in the blithe olden day,  
The heart will keep young, though our temples wax gray ;  
While love’s olive plants round our table shall rise,  
Engrafted with hopes that bear fruit in the skies.’

*Friendship’s Offering.*



## ART. VII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Fifth Part of the New Translation of the Holy Bible, from the pure Hebrew only, by John Bellamy, will appear in a few days. The Sixth Part is in the press, and will be published with all possible dispatch.

Vol. II. (and last) of Humming Birds, with upwards of Thirty coloured Plates, forming Vol. III. of Jardine's Naturalist's Library, will appear shortly.

British Tariff, for 1833-4; with the Consolidation of the Laws of the Customs, just enacted; and containing the Duties payable on Foreign Goods imported into Great Britain and Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Island of Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and the British Possessions in America, &c. &c.; forming a ready reference for Officers of the Revenue, Merchants, Ship-owners, Brokers, and Agents, Captains of Ships, Warehouse-keepers, Wharfingers, Gentlemen Travelling Abroad, and all Persons Trading in Articles of Foreign Production. By Robert Ellis, Esq., Principal Computer, Long Room, Custom-house, London, Compiler of the "Custom Laws," &c., preparing.

Nearly ready for publication, Principles of Political Economy, deduced from the Natural Laws of Social Welfare, and applied to the Present State of Britain. By G. Poulett Scrope, M.P., F.R.S., &c.

In the press, to be published on the 1st of November, in One Vol. 8vo, Lectures on Christian Ethics, or Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation, delivered at the Congregational Library in May last. By the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., being the First Series of an Annual Lecture to be delivered at the above Institution.

In the press, and will soon be ready, Letters by Martha Muir, with an Introductory Memoir, by the Rev. D. Macfarlan, Minister of Renfrew. Martha Muir was an eminent private Christian, a Native of the Parish of Renfrew, who died in that Parish on 1st December, 1831.

In the press, and expected to be published in January next, a Pocket Expositor of the New Testament, by T. Keyworth.

Sir Richard Phillips's Dictionary of all the Arts of Civilized Life, explanatory of useful Processes, Manipulations, and Operations, according to the latest discoveries, will appear in a few days.

Nearly ready, the Christian's Golden Harp, or Promises of Scripture in Verse. By W. C. D. Dedicated, by Permission, to James Montgomery, Esq.

On the 1st, of November will be published in demy 8vo, the first number of "Miller's Gardeners' Dictionary," as it was last revised by himself, those passages alone being modified, which the labours of scientific gardeners have since shown to be either erroneous or useless. The department of gardening, and that portion of botanical science connected with it, will be brought down, as nearly as possible, on the principle of Miller's plan, to the level of the knowledge which has been acquired on this great subject up to the present day. But the new work will be upon the whole a substantial copy of Miller's Gardeners' Dictionary, added to which will be copious information and directions in the several branches of agricultural labour, included under the heads—1. Agricultural Chemistry and Mineralogy, including the composition and application of manures, the selection of soils for particular purposes, &c. &c. 2. Agricultural Zoology, comprehending the treatment, improvement, &c. of all animals connected with or employed in farms. The whole is under the superintendence of a society of gentlemen eminent in the sciences which form the subject of these volumes. Every Number will be embellished with two beautifully engraved steel plates, of Plants, Agricultural Implements, Plans of Gardens, Farms, and every modern improvement in husbandry that requires illustration by design, &c. The whole Work will be completed within Twelve Months.

In the press, and will be published early in November, in two Volumes 8vo, illustrated by numerous Fac-simile Engravings on steel and wood, Roman Coins, from the earliest period of the Roman Coinage to the extinction of the empire under Constantine Paleologos, with observations on some of the most remarkable, and notices of the Prices at which the rarest coins have been sold during the last Thirty Years, by John Y. Akerman. This Work will contain accurate descriptions of the several thousand Coins struck during the Republic and the Empire of the Romans, and will be extensively Illustrated by Engravings executed in the first style of the Art, from the originals in the British Museum and in the Cabinet of the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, as well as from those in several valuable private Collections in this and other countries. The unique specimens are numerous; and their authenticity has been attested by the most experienced Numismatists. A very limited number of copies will be printed in royal 8vo. with India proofs.

In the press, to be published by Subscription, in 12mo., The Commentaries of John Calvin on the Epistle to the Romans. To which is prefixed his Life, by Theodore Beza. Translated by F. Sibson, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin.

Nearly ready for publication, Narrative of a Tour in the United States, British America, and Mexico, to the Mines of Real Del Monte, and to the Island of Cuba, by Henry Tudor, Esq., in 2 Vols. 8vo.

In the press, An Essay on the Roman Villas of the Augustan Age, their Architectural Disposition and Enrichments, and the Remains of

Roman Domestic Edifices discovered in Great Britain. By Thomas Moule. In One Volume, demy 8vo.

Mr. Curtis is preparing for publication, A New Map of the Eye, after the manner of the Germans; also, a Synoptical Chart of the various Diseases of the Eye, with their Order, Classification, Seat, Symptoms, Causes, and Treatment, intended as Companions to his Map and Chart of the Ear.

In the press, The Doctor, &c. In Two Volumes.

In the press, Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion; with Notes and Illustrations. Now by the Editor of Captain Rock's Memoirs.

Shortly will appear, in one volume, post 8vo., The Book of the Unveiling: an Exposition. With Notes.

In the press, Fanaticism, by the Author of "Natural History of Enthusiasm," "Saturday Evening," &c.

In the press, a revised edition of The Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company and of the Indian Governments and Establishments under the new Charter, &c. &c.

## ART. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of Rowland Taylor, LL.D., Archdeacon of Exeter, Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, &c.; comprising an Account of the Rise of the Reformation in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. By Thomas Quinton Stow. 12mo, 5s. 6d.

The Life of the late Dr. Adam Clarke: (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his Family. Vol. III. (which completes the work) 8vo, 9s.

Memoir of Mr. John Duggett, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a useful class-leader and successful local preacher in the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion. By J. Heaton. 12mo, 2s. 6d.

The Fathers (John of Whitechurch and Bartholomew of Charmouth,) of the Wesley Family, and References to their Times. by William Beal. 3s.

Biographical Notices and Remains of Alphonso Henry Holyfield, for several years a clerk in the office of the London Missionary Society. Compiled by the Assistant Secretary to that Institution. 12mo, 6s.

### HISTORY.

The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam. To which are subjoined, Notices of the other British Churches in the Netherlands; and a brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment. By the Rev. William Steven, M.A., Junior Minister of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam. 8vo, 10s. 6d.

### THEOLOGY.

A Discourse occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Joseph Hughes, A.M., one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, delivered to his late Congregation at Battersea, on Sunday, Oct. 13. By John Sheppard, Author of Thoughts on Private Devotion, &c. 8vo.

Sermons by the Rev. R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds. 8vo, Morocco cloth boards, gold lettered, 12s.

The Pulpit.—Vol. XXII. Containing Fifty Sermons. With a Portrait of Dr. Adam Clarke. 7s. 6d. in cloth.